



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

*The So-called Intransitive Verbal Forms in Hebrew.*<sup>1</sup>—By Dr.  
FRANK R. BLAKE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore,  
Md.

IN English grammar, and in Indo-European grammar in general, a transitive verb is one that takes a direct object upon which the action denoted by the verb is exerted, e. g., *kill*; *the man killed his brother*, while an intransitive verb is one that has not such an object, e. g., *sleep*; *the man sleeps*.<sup>2</sup>

In Semitic grammar there is more or less confusion in the use of the terms transitive and intransitive. They may refer, as in Indo-European grammar, to the exercise or non-exercise of the action upon an object,<sup>3</sup> to the special forms of the two classes of verbs,<sup>4</sup> or, finally, to the meaning of these verbs.<sup>5</sup> This confusion is due to a characteristic peculiarity of the Semitic languages, namely that transitive and intransitive verbs are usually distinguished by a difference of form.<sup>6</sup>

Semitic verbs are practically all derived from stems containing either two or three consonants. The prevailing type of verb is the triconsonantal, e. g., Heb. קָטַל, and to this norm the biconsonantal verbs have been for the most part conformed,

<sup>1</sup> The present article is a portion of a larger work on the *Intransitive Verbal Forms in Semitic*. The complete material in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian is reserved for future publication.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. A. H. Murray, *A New English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1888-, vol. 5, p. 485b; *The Century Dictionary*, New York, pp. 3162b, 6433a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 165; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford, 1898, p. 120, § 43, a, b; Wright-DeGoeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge, 1896, vol. 1, p. 30; Socin, *Arabic Grammar*, Berlin, 1895, p. 25 f.; Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*,<sup>2</sup> Leipzig, 1898, § 160.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.; Dalman, *Gram. d. jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 199; Socin, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.; Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, Eng. ed., Berlin, 1889, p. 233; Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in d. semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1889, p. xv.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Steintal-Misteli, *Charakteristik d. hauptsächlichsten Typen d. Sprachbaus*, Berlin, 1893, p. 458.

either by doubling the second stem consonant, verbs mediæ geminatae, e. g., Ar. **حَمَّ** *ḥamma* < \**ḥama*; or by lengthening the vowel between the two stem consonants, verbs mediæ infirmæ, e. g., Ar. **قَالَ** *qāla* < \**qala*.<sup>1</sup> From every stem, triconsonantal or biconsonantal, may be made a number of forms or conjugations, the simple conjugation with simple verbal meaning, and a number of derivative conjugations, intensive, causative, reflexive, etc., and in every conjugation there are two so-called tense forms, a perfect and an imperfect, from which latter an imperative is derived. In the simple conjugation there are two verbal types, one of which is prevailingly transitive and the other prevailingly intransitive.

The difference between these two formal types lies in the so-called characteristic vowel between the second and third stem-consonants in triconsonantal stems, or between the two stem-consonants of biconsonantal stems. In general, transitive verbs have a characteristic *a* vowel in the perfect, and a characteristic *i* or *u* vowel in the imperfect, while intransitive verbs have characteristic *i* or *u* vowels in the perfect, and a characteristic *a* in the imperfect. In Hebrew and Syriac (according to the Nestorian pronunciation) characteristic *i* and *u* are lengthened to *ē* and *ō* respectively; in Ethiopic both become *ē*, which is syncope in the perfect.<sup>2</sup> These two verbal types exist in all the Semitic languages except Assyrian, where the perfect, as such, has not been developed, and where the various characteristic vowels do not seem to have been used to differentiate between transitive and intransitive verbs,<sup>3</sup> e. g.:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Müller, *Verba*, **י'י' and י''י'**, ZDMG., 33, p. 698; Lagarde, *Übersicht über d. im Aramäischen, Arabischen u. Hebräischen übliche Bildung d. Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889, pp. 12, 27; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.*, pp. 181, 201; Stade, *Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1879, § 143, 2; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> § 177; Hommel, *Süd-arabische Chrestomathie*, München, 1893, p. 31, § 51.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, pp. 83, 84; Dillmann-Bezold, *Gram. d. äthiopischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1899, § 19. The statement as to the *i* vowel in Syriac is given on the authority of Rev. Gabriel Oussani of Bagdad.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the transitive verbs *imḥaṣ*, *imaḥaṣ* 'strike'; *iškun*, *išakan* 'put'; *iddin*, *inadin* 'give'; *irmuk*, *iramuk* 'pour out, wash'; *išbir*, *išabir* 'break in pieces'; with the intransitive verbs *ipšaḥ*, *ipašaḥ*

- Heb. tr. פָּקַד, יָפַקַד 'visit';  
 נָתַן, יָתַן (< *îintēn*) 'give';  
 intr. כָּבֵד, יִכָּבֵד 'be heavy';  
 קָטַן, יִקָּטַן 'be small';
- Syr. tr. קָטַל ܩܬܠ 'kill';  
 נָזַח ܢܙܚ 'buy';  
 intr. נָדַם ܢܕܡ 'sleep';
- Ar. tr. قَتَلَ *qatala*, يَقْتُلُ *îaqtulu* 'kill';  
 ضَرَبَ *daraba*, يَضْرِبُ *îadribu* 'strike';  
 intr. فَرِحَ *fariha*, يَفْرَحُ *îafrahu* 'rejoice';  
 حَسَنَ *hasuna*, يَحْسَنُ *îahsunu*<sup>1</sup> 'be handsome';
- Eth. tr. ቀተለ *qatala*, ይቀተሉ *îëqtël* 'kill';  
 intr. አበሰ *îabsa*, ይደበስ *îëîbas* 'be dry.'

In the biconsonantal verbs the two types are by no means so distinct, transitive and intransitive forms being more or less confused: cf. however,

- Ar. tr. قال *qāla*, يَقُولُ *îaqālu* 'say';  
 سَارَ *sāra*, يَسِيرُ *îasīru* 'journey';  
 مَدَّ *madda*, يُمِدُّ *îamuddu* 'draw, pull';  
 intr. خَفِيَ *hifṭa*, يَخَافُ *îahāfu* 'fear';  
 يَحْمُ *îahammu*, 'be hot.'

---

'recover, get well'; *ikrub*, *ikarab* 'be propitious'; *uriq* (liriq), *urraq* 'be or become pale'; *ibluṭ*, *ibaluṭ* 'live'; *irpiš*, *irapiš* 'be or become wide.' The permansive, which corresponds to the perfect, has practically always characteristic *i* or *u* vowels, e. g., *marîç*, *maruç* 'be sick' (cf. however, McCurdy, *The Semitic Perfect in Assyrian*, Actes du VI. Cong. internat. des Orientalistes, Leide, 1884, p. 524), and regularly denotes condition or passivity.

<sup>1</sup> As the *u* perfect type of the intransitive verb is practically extinct in Syriac, and in Ethiopic has fallen together with the *i* type, it is difficult to say what was the original characteristic vowel of the imperfect, *a* as in Hebrew, or *u* as in Arabic.

The terms transitive and intransitive are also applied in Semitic to the nominal forms, but here again they are ambiguous. Sometimes they refer to the meaning of the words as being similar in kind to the meanings of verbs of the transitive or intransitive types,<sup>1</sup> e. g.

Hebr. *tr.* הָרַג *pt.* 'killing,' cf. הָרַג 'kill;'

*intr.* כָּבֵד 'heavy,' cf. כָּבֵד 'be heavy.'

Sometimes they are used as indicating the derivation of a nominal form from a transitive or intransitive verbal form without regard to meaning,<sup>2</sup> e. g.

Hebr. *tr.* יָשַׁר 'straight' from יָשַׁר 'be straight,'

*intr.* כָּבֵד 'heavy' from כָּבֵד 'be heavy.'

The nominal forms in Semitic are usually regarded as derived from the verb. Lagarde derives practically all nouns from the perfect theme; Barth, part from the perfect and part from the imperfect theme. Hence both consider the vocalization of a noun as an indication of the original vocalization of the verbal forms of the same stem.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason, however, for assuming such a close connection between all nominal and verbal forms. It is hardly probable that the large number of nominal forms should be derived from the few themes which occur in the verb. Moreover, these theories leave out of consideration entirely the influence of analogy in conforming words of related meaning to the same formal type.<sup>4</sup>

Although it is hardly possible, therefore, to assume, in the mechanical manner of Barth and Lagarde, that a verbal form had originally such and such a characteristic vowel, because that vowel is found in its nominal derivatives, it is true, nevertheless, that many verbal nouns and adjectives do offer more or less certain evidence as to the original form of a verb. These nominal derivatives are of two kinds, viz.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barth, *Nominalb.*, pp. ii, iii, iv, ix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lagarde, *Übers.*, p. 27 ff.; Barth, *op. cit.*, p. xxii. ff., especially xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Huizinga, *Analogy in the Semitic Languages*, Baltimore, 1891, p. 32 f.

1) Those in which there is an organic connection between verbal and nominal forms, as, for example, verbal adjectives of the forms *qatil* and *qatul*, which are probably originally identical with the corresponding *i* und *u* perfects;

2) Those which, although there is probably no original organic connection, are made more or less exclusively from either transitive or intransitive verbs; for example, active participles of the form *qatil* may be considered specifically transitive, abstracts of the form *qatal* specifically intransitive.

The designations transitive and intransitive as applied in Semitic to the two formal verbal types and their derivatives are not entirely suitable. In the first place, the distinction between transitive and intransitive is, strictly speaking, purely grammatical and syntactical, and has *per se* nothing to do with the meaning of the verb. In the sentences, *he kills simply for the pleasure of killing*; *he is writing*; *he knows if anyone knows*; *I can't see*: the meaning of the intransitively used verbs *kill*, *write*, *know*, *see*, is the same as in the sentences *he kills animals simply for the pleasure of killing*; *he is writing a letter*; *he knows it if anyone knows*; *I can't see him*; where they are used transitively.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, the two classes of transitive and intransitive verbs are not coextensive with the two formal verbal types. Although a large majority of the verbs of the so-called intransitive type are intransitive, there are a number, especially those which denote emotions and actions of the mind, which govern a direct object, e. g., Heb. אָהַב 'love,' שָׂנֵא 'hate,' שָׁמַע 'hear,' etc.; while many verbs of the so-called transitive form, especially verbs of motion, are intransitive, e. g., Heb. יָצָא 'go out,' כָּרַע 'kneel down,' נָפַל 'fall,' etc. These numerous exceptions can not be satisfactorily explained as due simply to a mixture of transitive and intransitive forms: the real difference between the two verbal types is to be sought, not in the grammatical construction, but in the signification of the verbs.

The inadequacy of the terms transitive and intransitive has been very generally recognized, and various names for the two

---

<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that originally all verbs were intransitive, indicating a condition or action of the subject without special regard to any object. Cf. Bréal, *Essai de Sémantique*, Paris, 1897, p. 210.

classes of verbs have been proposed with the idea of defining their nature more accurately. Böttcher calls the two classes *activa* and *stativa*; König employs the term *Zustandsverba* for verbs of the second class, while Gesenius designates them as verbs of "quality and emotion," or as verbs which denote "states and qualities," and in Lee's Grammar of the Hebrew Language they are spoken of as verbs of "sense and habit." Ewald uses the terms *active* and *halbpasive* to designate the two classes: Rosenmüller calls them *activa* and *absoluta*; Merx speaks of verbs of the second class as *descriptiva*, Duval as *neutres*. All of these terms point more or less clearly towards the distinction made by Böttcher, viz., that verbs of the first class indicate actions, while those of the second class indicate states or conditions.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Haupt has suggested another theory. He calls the first and second classes respectively "voluntary" and "involuntary," or *verba voluntaria* and *verba involuntaria*, and thinks that the original distinction was one between volition and non-volition, verbs of the first class indicating originally an action or state which depends on the will of the subject, e. g., *kill, cut, look, walk*, etc., those of the second class indicating an action or state which does not depend on the will of the subject, e. g., *see, hear, fear, love*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

The following investigation comprises a study of the meaning and form of the so-called intransitive verbs in Hebrew, the term intransitive being used with reference to form only, unless otherwise stated. In the case of the nominal derivatives the term intransitive is restricted to those which are intransitive in the sense of the two categories given above. The investigation is divided into three parts:

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrb. d. Hebr. Spr.*, Leipzig, 1866, §§ 508, 564, 908; König, *Lehrgebäude d. Hebr. Spr.*, Leipzig, 1881, 1, 167; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude d. Hebr. Sprache*, Leipzig, 1817, p. 231; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.*, p. 120; Lee, *Grammar of the Hebrew Lang.*, London, 1844, p. 182, ft. nt.; Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrb. d. Hebr. Spr.*, 8te Ausg., Göttingen, 1870, p. 338; Rosenmüller, *Institutiones ad Fundamenta Linguae Arabicae*, Lipsiae, 1818, p. 59; Merx, *Gram. Syriaca*, Halis, 1867, p. 212; Duval, *Traité de Grammaire Syriaque*, Paris, 1881, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Transitive and Intransitive Verbs in Semitic*, PAOS., 1894, p. ci. f.; cf. also Lagarde, *Übers.*, p. 6; Reckendorf, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse d. Arabischen*, Leiden, 1898, p. 40.

1. *List of stems which exhibit intransitive forms.*
2. *Discussion of the meaning of the intransitive verb.*<sup>1</sup>
3. *Discussion of the intransitive forms.*

#### 1. LIST OF STEMS EXHIBITING INTRANSITIVE FORMS.

The characteristic intransitive verbal forms in Hebrew may be indicated in general as follows, קטל and קט representing respectively any triconsonantal or biconsonantal stem.

##### Triconsonantal Verb.

<i>pf.</i>	<i>impf.</i>	<i>impr.</i>	<i>inf.</i>
קָטַל, קָטַלְתָּ;	קָטַלְתָּ;	קָטַלְתָּ;	קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּה, "ק, "ק or "ק.

##### Biconsonantal Verb.

###### *mediæ geminatæ.*

קָטַט, קָטַטְתָּ (*pl.*)<sup>2</sup>; קָטַטְתָּ; קָטַטְתָּה.

###### *mediæ infirmæ.*

קָטַטְתָּ, קָטַטְתָּה; קָטַטְתָּה, קָטַטְתָּה.

In verbs *mediæ geminatæ* the distinction between transitive and intransitive forms in the perfect is usually one between long forms like קָטַט and short forms like קָטַט. In verbs פ"פ and פ"פ biconsonantal forms of the *mediæ geminatæ* type, made from the last two consonants of the stem, also occur, imperfects and imperatives in verbs פ"פ, imperatives in verbs פ"פ.

Many verbal forms are indecisive, *i. e.* it is impossible to judge from them whether the verb in question belongs to the transitive or intransitive type; such are,

1) All verbal forms in which the characteristic vowel is reduced to *sheva*, since *sheva* ordinarily indicates nothing with regard to the character of the original vowel; *e. g.*, 3. *f. s. pf.* קָטַלְתָּ, 3. *pl. impf.* יִקְטַלְתָּ.

<sup>1</sup> As the *u* perfect is comparatively rare in Hebrew, the question as to the difference in meaning between verbs with *i* perfect and those with *u* perfect will not be discussed. The treatment of this question belongs to the discussion of the intransitive forms in Arabic, in which language alone does the *u* perfect occur with any frequency.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* 1, 333 ff.; cf. also Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrb.*, p. 361; Olshausen, *Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Spr.*, Braunschweig, 1861, p. 486; Stade, *Lehrb.*, § 413. *e*; Müller, *Hebräische Schulgram.*, Halle, 1878, p. 105.



<sup>1</sup> This form may represent either original *qatul* or original *qatál* (cf. Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, pp. 82, 83, 84). For the sake of convenience, however, all adjectives of this form will be given in the list, the distinction between *qatul* and *qatál* being left to the individual cases.

verbs ל"ה; verbal nouns of the forms קָטַל, קָטֵל, קָטֹל.  
קָטַל, קָטֵל, קָטֹל.<sup>1</sup>

In the following list, all those stems will be given which exhibit decisive intransitive verbal forms or intransitive derivatives. Verbs ל"ה without intransitive derivatives which exhibit intransitive forms in the perfect or imperfect, and verbs mediæ and tertîæ gutturalis which have no intransitive form except the imperfect or imperative, are given when the evidence of the cognate languages seems to show that the intransitive forms are original. All the intransitive forms in Hebrew will be given in the case of each verb in the order, perfect, imperfect, imperative, infinitive, adjective, abstract, except in verbs ל"ה, where perfect forms like נָלִיתָ and imperfect forms like יִנְלֶה are simply indicated by *pf.* and *imperf.* respectively. Whenever a stem presents intransitive form in only a single instance, a reference to the Hebrew text is added; references are also given in other cases when it seems desirable. Decisive intransitive forms of the verbs in the cognate languages are given in the perfect when it occurs; if not, in the imperfect, in Ethiopic the subjunctive. Forms in Talmudic and Targumic Aramaic are given only when no decisive intransitive form, or when only the imperfect is found in Syriac, J., L. and T. indicating respectively that the intransitive form in question is given by Jastrow in his Targumic and Talmudic dictionary, by Levy in his Talmudic dictionary, or by the same author in his Targumic dictionary. As indecisive forms in the cognate languages are to be regarded, 1) *a* imperfects of verbs mediæ and tertîæ gutturalis in Syriac and Arabic, and *a* subjunctives of verbs of the same classes in Ethiopic,<sup>2</sup> 2) *a* imperfects of verbs tertîæ *resh* in Syriac,<sup>3</sup> 3) syncopated per-

---

<sup>1</sup> No other nominal form can be regarded as specifically intransitive in the sense here employed. On the other hand, adjectives of the form קָטַל like חָכֵם 'wise' seem to indicate the existence of *a* perfects with meanings like the *i* and *u* perfects, just as adjectives of the forms קָטַל and קָטֵל indicate the existence of *i* and *u* perfects.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*,<sup>2</sup> §§ 169, 170; Wright-DeGoeje, *Arab. Gram.*, vol. 1, § 91, rem. *a*; Dillmann-Bezold, *Gram. d. äthiop.-Spr.*, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, § 170.





24. **אתה** (יְאָתָיו) ; **ܐܬܐ** : *ǝṭay* 'come.'
25. **בַּאֲשׁ** (יְבַאֲשׁ) ; **ܒܐܝܫܐ** : *ba'isa* ; **ܒܝܫܐ** : *bē'sa* 'rot, stink.'
26. **בְּגֶר** (נִבְגֶּר Mal. ii. 10, *a.* **בְּגֶר** \* **בְּגֶרָה** <sup>1</sup> Jer. iii. 7, 10) 'be faithless, rebellious.'
27. **בֶּרֶךְ** (בָּרַךְ 'separation;' **ܒܕܝܕܬܐ** *badidta* 'have parts far apart') *pt.* 'alone, separate.'
28. **בְּהֵם** \* **בְּהֵמָה** 'cattle;' **ܒܗܡܐ** : *bēhma* 'be dumb').
29. **בּוֹא** (יְבּוֹא *impr.* and *inf.* **בּוֹא** ; **ܒܐܐ** : *ibā'* ; Ass. *ibā'u*) 'enter, come.'
30. **בּוֹשׁ** (יְבּוֹשׁ *impr.* and *inf.* **בּוֹשׁ** , *a.* **בּוֹשׁ** ; **ܒܝܫܐ** : *ibāš*) 'be ashamed.'
31. **בָּחַן** (יְבָחַן) *s.*, *a.* **בָּחוֹן** Jer. vi. 27) 'test, try.'
32. **בָּטַח** (יְבָטַח) *s.*, *a.* **בָּטֹחַ** Is. xxx. 15) 'trust.'
33. **בָּלָה** (*impr.*, *a.* **בָּלָה** \* **בָּלָה** ; **ܒܠܝܐ** : *balīa* ; **ܒܠܝܐ** : *balīa*) 'become worn out.'
34. **בָּלַע** (יְבָלַע) **ܒܠܥ** : *balī'a* 'swallow.'
35. **בָּעַל** (יְבָעַל) ; **ܒܥܠܐ** : *ba'ula* ; **ܒܥܠܐ** : *bē'la*) 'rule over, possess.'
36. **בָּעַר** (יְבָעַר) ; **ܒܥܝܪ** : *ba'ir* 'burn' *intr.*
37. **בָּעַת** \* **בָּעַתָּה** 'terror;' **ܒܥܬܐ** : *bē'ta* 'come upon suddenly, fear').
38. **בָּצַק** (יְבָצַק *a.* **בָּצֵק** 'dough,' originally 'swelling up') 'swell up.'
39. **בָּרַךְ** \* **בָּרַךְ** (*a.* **בָּרַךְ** \* **בָּרַךְ** 'piebald').
40. **בָּרַח** (יְבָרַח) ; **ܒܪܝܚܐ** : *bariha* 'depart, leave') 'flee.'
41. **בָּרַךְ** (יְבָרַךְ 2 Ch. vi. 13 ; **ܒܪܟܐ** : *baraka*) 'kneel.'
42. **בָּרַךְ** (יְבָרַךְ 'blessing,' **ܒܪܟܐ** 'pool,' perhaps originally 'something blessed') *inf. absolute.*

<sup>1</sup> The retention of the *Qameç* in the feminine is strange if the form is *qatul* or *qatāl*. Barth (*Nominalbildung*, §27g) derives it from *qatāl*. It may be the Aramaic form **ܩܬܘܠ** (so Haupt).

43. ברר (*inf.* לְבָרַם \* בָּר, Eccl. iii. 18, *a.* בָּר 'pure;'; בִּרְרָת *barirta* 'be good, true') 'separate, cleanse.'
44. בשל (*a.* בָּשַׁל; בָּשַׁל חֶמֶץ 'become cooked, ripe.'
45. גאה (*impf.*, גָּאָה; גָּאֵי אֵל; 'rise, be exalted.'
46. גבה (*inf.* גָּבְהָה, *a.* גָּבְהָה 'be high, exalted, proud.'
47. גבר (*inf.* גָּבְרוּ; גָּבַר; גָּבַר: *gabra* 'do, make') 'increase, become great.'
48. גדל (*s.* גָּדַל, *a.* גָּדַל, *a.* גָּדוּל; גדל *jadila* 'contend violently') 'become great.'
49. גהר (*inf.* גָּהַר; גָּהַר אֶרֶץ 'bend down.'
50. גור (*a.* גָּר) 'sojourn.'
51. גזל (*a.* גָּזַל 'plunder,' originally 'what is torn off,' גָּזַלָה; גָּזַל *jazila* 'be cut on the back [of camel]) tear off, tear away.'
52. גזר (*inf.* גָּזַר; גָּזַר Job xxii. 28, גָּזַר 'desolation') 'separate, determine.'
53. גח and גח (*impr.* גָּח Mic. iv. 10) 'break forth.'
54. גלל (*impr.* גָּל Ps. cxix. 22) 'roll.'
55. גנב (*inf.* גָּנַב 'what is stolen,' Ex. xxii. 2) 'steal.'
56. גער (*inf.* גָּעַר; גָּעַר 'scold, reprove.'
57. גר (*inf.* גָּר Lev. xi. 7) 'draw.'
- \*\* Cf. No. 433.
58. דאג (*inf.* דָּאָג; L. דָּאָג 'fear.'
59. דבל (*inf.* דָּבַל 'cake of figs,' originally 'something pressed together;'; דָּבַל *dabila* 'be full of fat').
60. דבק (*inf.* דָּבַק; דָּבַק *dabiq* 'stick to.'
61. רזה (*a.* רָזָה 'sick;'; רָזָה *dayiia*; רָזָה *ieduāi*) *inf.* Lev. xii. 2, 'be unwell, menstruate.'†
62. דון (*inf.* דָּוַן Gen. vi. 3) 'stay'[?].†

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stade, *Lehrb.* § 490, c; Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 524 bot.

63. רֹשׁ (*impr.* רֹשִׁי Mic. iv. 13) 'tread down.'
64. דָּכַךְ \* (א. דָּךְ 'crushed').
65. רָלַל (רָלַל Job xxviii. 4) 'dangle.'†
66. רָלַל (רָלַל, יָדַל, א. רָל) 'be weak, poor.'
67. דָּלַק (דָּלַק Ps. x. 2; נָדַלַק נָחַץ, J. דָּלִיק) 'burn *intr.*, pursue eagerly.'
68. דָּמָה (דָּמָה Job xxx. 27, דָּמָה) 'be silent, still.'
69. דָּמַע (דָּמַע Jer. xiii. 17, דָּמַע dami'a) 'weep, be full of tears.'†
70. דָּעַךְ (דָּעַךְ יָחַץ, יָדַעַךְ) 'go out, be extinguished.'
71. דָּקַךְ (דָּקַךְ, א. דָּק) 'be crushed, fine'.
72. דָּשַׁן (דָּשַׁן Deut. xxxi. 20, א. דָּשַׁן; דָּסַם *dasima*)<sup>1</sup> 'become fat.'†
73. הִבַּל (יִהְיֶה הִבַּל; T. יִהְיֶה הִבַּל) 'amount to nothing, give oneself up to empty hopes.'
74. הָדָרָה \* (הָדָרָה, הָדָר, תִּהְיֶה הָדָר) 'honor, take the part of.'
75. הָלַךְ (forms regularly *tr.* except *impr.* *i. p.* יָלַךְ, 2 *pl.* תִּהְלֶכֶה, תִּהְלָךְ Ex. ix. 23, Ps. lxxiii. 9; J. T. הָלַךְ; הָלַךְ *halika* 'perish') 'go, walk, depart, vanish.'
76. הִפָּךְ (הִפָּךְ Gen. xix. 29; J. T. הִפָּךְ) 'turn, overturn, destroy; turn (*intr.*), flee.'
77. הָרַג (הָרַגה 'slaughter') 'kill.'
78. הָרָה \* (הָרָה *impr.*, א. הָרָה) 'be pregnant.'
79. זָוַר (א. זָוַר) 'be haughty.'
80. זָעַה (זָעַה *kt.*, transposed זָעַה) 'tremble, be afraid.'
81. זָוַר (זָוַר Jud. vi. 38) 'press out.'
82. זָרָה (זָרָה Ps. lviii. 4) 'be strange, apart, rebellious.'
83. זָכָה (*impr.*; זָכָה) 'be pure.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1, 2.

84. זָכוּ (זָכוּ, *a.* זָךְ) 'be pure, innocent.'
85. זָעַף (זָעַף, Pr. xix. 3, *a.* זָעַף) 'be angry.'†
86. זָעַק (זָעַק, זָעַק; *Bib. Ar.* זָעַק) 'cry out.'
87. זָקַן (זָקַן, זָקַן, *inf. and abst.* זָקַן, *a.* זָקַן)<sup>1</sup> 'become old.'
88. זָרַר (זָרַר, Is. i. 6) 'be pressed out.'† [Cf. 81.]
89. חָבַר (חָבַר, חָבַר; *חָבַר* *habura* 'know'; *חָבַר* : *habra*)  
'be joined together, allied.'
90. חָבַשׁ (חָבַשׁ, Job v. 18) 'bind.'
91. חָגַר (חָגַר, חָגַר; *a.* חָגַר) 'girded,' Ezek. xxiii. 15) 'gird, bind up.'
92. חָדַר (חָדַר, Hab. i. 8, *a.* חָדַר 'sharp') 'be sharp, quick.'†
93. חָדַר (חָדַר, חָדַר) 'rejoice.'
94. חָדַל (חָדַל, חָדַל, *a.* חָדַל) 'cease.'
95. חָסַם (חָסַם) 'pity, spare.'
96. חָוַר (חָוַר, Is. xxix. 22; *חָוַר* *hayira*) 'become pale.'†
97. חָזַק (חָזַק, חָזַק, *inf. and abst.* חָזַק, *a.* חָזַק) 'be unmoved, attached to, strong.'
98. חָטָא (חָטָא, חָטָא; *חָטָא* *ḥaṭi'a*) 'sin.'
99. חָיָה (חָיָה, *pf. impf., a.* חָיָה; *חָיָה* Ex. i. 19; *חָיָה* *hayiia*; *חָיָה* : *hayia*) 'live.'
100. חָיָה (חָיָה, *a.* חָיָה; *חָיָה* *ḥayaiu*) 'live.'
101. חָכַם (חָכַם, חָכַם; *חָכַם* *ḥaḥam*; J. חָכַם) 'be wise.'
102. חָלַק (חָלַק, חָלַק; *חָלַק* *ḥaliqa, ḥaluqa*) 'be smooth.'
103. חָלַשׁ (חָלַשׁ, Job xiv. 10; T. חָלַשׁ) 'be weak.'†
104. חָמַד (חָמַד, חָמַד; J. חָמַד; *חָמַד* *ḥamida*) 'praise' 'desire.'
105. חָמַל (חָמַל, *inf. or abst.* חָמַל and חָמַל) 'pity, spare.'

<sup>1</sup> All the forms are probably denominative from זָקַן 'beard.'

<sup>2</sup> Regarded as *Pual* of זָרַר by Stade, *Lehrb.* § 415, b.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning uncertain, usually translated 'lively, in good health.'



106. חָם (חָם, יָחַם, יָחַם, *inf.* לְחָמָם<sup>1</sup> Is. xlvii. 14, *a.* חָם; נָחַם נִסְמָ: חֲמִימָה hamimta; חָמָא hamma) 'become warm.'
107. חָמָא (חָמָא; חָמָא hamisa 'be hard, severe') 'act violently to, harm.'
108. חָמָא (חָמָא, יָחָמָא, *inf.* חָמָא\* Hos. vii. 4, *a.* נָחַמָא חָמָא hamida, hamuda; cf. نَحَّمَ: L. חָמָא) 'be sour.'
109. חָמָא (*a.* חָמוֹץ 'oppressor,' Is. i. 17) *pt.* 'oppressor,' Ps. lxxi. 4.
110. חָנָא (חָנָא; חָנָא Am. v. 15, *inf.* חָנָא\* Is. xxx. 18) 'be gracious to.'
111. חָנָא (חָנָא, חָנָא, *a.* חָנָא; חָנָא hanifa, hanufa 'have a contortion') 'be godless, polluted.'
112. חָסָא (חָסָא; חָסָא 'strong,' חָסָא haṣuna).<sup>3</sup>
113. חָסָא (חָסָא, יָחָסָא, *a.* חָסָא; חָסָא ḥasira; חָסָא: ḥasra) 'fail, be in want, decrease.'
114. חָפָא (*a.* חָפָא 'pure,' Job xxxiii. 9).
115. חָפָא (חָפָא, יָחָפָא, *a.* חָפָא; חָפָא ḥafiza 'keep') 'be pleased with, desire.'
116. חָפָא (חָפָא, יָחָפָא; חָפָא ḥafira; חָפָא: ḥafra) 'be ashamed.'
117. חָפָא\* (חָפָא 'freedom,' Lev. xix. 20).
118. חָצָא (חָצָא Is. v. 2) 'hew, split.'
119. חָרָא (חָרָא, *impr.* חָרָא Is. xlv. 27, *a.* חָרָא; חָרָא ḥariba) 'be dry, desolate.'

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps corrupt and to be read לְחָמָם *inf.* with suffix, or *Piel* לְחָמָם; cf. Gesenius-Buhl., p. 260 b.

<sup>2</sup> The regular representative of חָמָא in Syriac is نَحَّمَ 'be fermented,' the *a* imperfect of which is indecisive.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1, 19; Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 34.

120. חרר (יִחַרֵּר, *a.* חָרַר, חֲרָרָה, خرد *harida* 'be bashful')  
'tremble.'
121. חרף (תִּחַרֵּף Is. xviii. 6) 'pass the winter.'†
122. חרף (יִחַרֵּף Job xxvii. 6, חֲרָפָה, T. יַחֲרֵף) 'scorn.'†
123. חרץ (יִחַרֵּץ Ex. xi. 7) 'sharpen.'
124. חרץ (תִּחַרֵּץ 2 Sam. v. 24; حرص *harīṣa*) 'be eager, hasten.'†
125. חרר (פֶּ. חָרָה, *a.* חָרַר \* חֲרָרִים 'dry regions,' Jer. xvii. 6; حررت *harirta*) 'burn, glow.'
126. חרש (יִחַרֵּשׁ; خرس *harisa*)<sup>1</sup> 'be dumb, silent.'
127. חֲשֵׁךְ (חֲשָׁךְ, חֲשִׁיכָה, חֲשִׁיכִים \* חֲשָׁךְ, a. תִּחַשֵּׁךְ, חֲשָׁךְ; حساك *hasika* 'be angry') 'become darkened.'
128. חתת (חַת, *a.* חַת) 'be terrified.'
129. טבח (טִבַּח 'slaughtering') 'slaughter.'
130. טבע (יִטְבַּע; طبع *ṭabi'a* 'be rusty;'; טָמַם 'be inborn')  
'be sunken, sink.'
131. טהר (יִטְהַר, טָהַר, *a.* טָהַר, טָהֳרָה, طهر *tahira*,  
*tahura*) 'be clean, pure.'
132. טוב (פֶּ. טוֹב<sup>2</sup>, *a.* טוֹב) 'be good.'
133. טחן (יִטְחֹן; نَحَنَ 'grind.'

<sup>1</sup> The adjective חֲרִישׁ 'dumb' is perhaps modified from חֲרִישׁ \* after the analogy of other adjectives denoting defects, e. g. אָטַר 'lame,' אֵלֶם 'dumb,' גָּבַח 'bald,' גִּבָּן 'humped,' עוֹר 'blind,' עֲלָג 'stammering,' עֲקֵשׁ 'crooked,' פֶּסַח 'lame,' פִּקֵּחַ 'open-eyed,' קָרַח 'bald.' קָרַח is probably to be regarded in the same way, cf. the proper name קָרַח.

<sup>2</sup> Considered an *u* perfect by Lagarde (*Übersicht*, p. 26); it is probable, however, that the verbal forms are simply denominative for the adjective, which represents a more original form *ṭāb*, cf. Syr. טָבָא *ṭābu*, Ass. *ṭābu*.



153. יִצֵק (יִצְקָה) <sup>1</sup> 1 Kgs. xxii. 35, *impr.* צֵק 2 Kgs. iv. 41) 'be poured out, flow.'<sup>†</sup>
154. יִצֵר (יִצְרָה) <sup>1</sup> 'form.'
155. יִצַת (*impr.* יִצַת) 'burn' *intr.*
156. יִקַר (יִקְרָה, יִקְרָה) 'burn' *intr.*
157. יִקַה \* יִקְהַת \* יִקְהַת \* 'obedience,' *واقه* *yaqiha* 'be obedient').
158. יִקַע (יִקְעָה) *واق* *yaqi'a* 'be dislocated.'
159. יִקֵץ (יִקְצָה) *يقظ* *iaqiza, iaquza* 'awake.'
160. יִקַר (יִקְרָה, יִקְרָה) *واقير* *yaqira, yaqura* 'be heavy, important, precious.'
161. יִקֵשׁ (יִקְשָׁה) Jer. l. 24, *a.* יִקֵשׁ Hos. ix. 8) 'lay snares.'
162. יִרָא (יִרְאָה, יִרְאָה, יִרְאָה, *inf.* and *abst.* יִרְאָה, *a.* יִרְאָה) 'fear.'
163. יִרֵב \* יִרְבָּה <sup>3</sup> 'contentious,' Hos. v. 13, x. 6).
164. יִרַד (יִרְדָּה, יִרְדָּה) 'descend, go down.'
165. יִרַק \* (יִרְקָה, 'green,' יִרְקָה, *yarika*).
166. יִרֵשׁ (יִרְשָׁה, *s.* יִרְשָׁה, *impr.* יִרְשָׁה and יִרְשָׁה) *وارث* *yaritha*; *يرث* *iras* [subj.]) 'inherit.'
167. יִשָּׁן (יִשְׁן, *a.* יִשְׁן) *وسن* *yasina* 'sleep.'
168. יִשָּׂר \* (יִשְׂרָה, 'straight,' יִשְׂרָה, 'straight,' יִשְׂרָה) 'be straight.'
169. יִשָּׁשׁ \* (יִשְׁשָׁה, 'old,' 2 Ch. xxxvi. 17).
170. יִכָּאב \* (יִכְאָה, 'feel pain,' יִכְאָה) *كأب* *ka'iba* 'feel pain.'
171. יִכָּבֵד \* (יִכְבְּדָה, *a.* יִכְבְּדָה, *a.* יִכְבְּדָה) *كأب* *kabda* 'be heavy.'

<sup>1</sup> The unaccented *a* of the final syllable is modified to Seghol as in *ויאמר* < *uajjômar*, cf. *ויאמר* i. p. Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 68, c. d. e.

<sup>2</sup> Daghesh-forte dirimens, cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 20, h.

<sup>3</sup> If the text is correct, a secondary form based on the imperfect *יִרֵב* from *יָרִב* 'contend.'

172. כהה (*impf.*; كهي *kahiya*) 'be weak [of eyes], despair.'  
 173. כון\* (א. כן 'right, proper').  
 174. כזב (כזב) *pt.* 'lying,' Ps. cxvi. 11.  
 175. כלה (*impf.*; א. כלה\* פלות 'languishing,' Deut. xxviii. 32) 'be complete, ended, languish.'  
 176. כסל (כסל) Jer. x. 8, כסל; كسل *kasila* 'be sluggish')  
 'be foolish.'†  
 177. כעס (כעס) J. בעים 'be displeased, angry.'  
 178. כפן (כפן) 'hunger;' כפן 'stretch out hungrily,' Ezek. xvii. 7.†  
 179. כרה (*pf. impf.*; كره *ḡkrai*) 'dig.'  
 180. כשר (כשר) Esth. viii. 5, יכשר Eccl. xi. 6) 'succeed, be suitable.'†  
 181. לאה (*impf.*; لاأ *lāʾa*) 'become fatigued, lose courage.'  
 182. לבש (לבש; ילבש; لبس *labisa*; لبس *labisa*) 'put on.'  
 183. להק (להק) \* להקת 'frenzy,' 1 Sam. xix. 20;<sup>1</sup> لهق *lahiqa* 'be white, glowing'.  
 184. לין (תין) Jud. xix. 20, Job xvii. 2, א. לין Neh. xiii. 21) 'spend the night.'  
 185. לין (א. לין) 'scorn, scoff.'  
 186. למד (למד) T. למד; למד *lāmad* 'learn.'  
 187. לעג (לעג; לעג; לעג) 'stutter' 'mock.'  
 188. לעע (לעו) Job. vi. 3; ילע Pr. xx. 25)<sup>2</sup> 'speak in a confused manner, speak without thinking.'†  
 189. לעע (לעו) Ob. 16) 'suck up.'†

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hoffman, ZAW. 3, 89. The reading is doubtful; according to LXX, Syr. and Targ. we should read קהלה 'assembly.'

<sup>2</sup> לעע is perhaps to be read ילע, and the forms referred to לעה, Ar. لغا.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps from לווע, cf. Syr. ܠܘܥ as well as ܠܘܥ.



205. מִשְׁחָה, מִשְׁחָה s., *inf.* מִשְׁחָה, מִשְׁחָה (מִשְׁחָה) 'anoint.'
206. מִתְּוֹק (מִתְּוֹק) Pr. ix. 17, a. מִתְּוֹק 'be sweet.'
207. נֶאֱצָה, נֶאֱצָה (נֶאֱצָה) 'despise.'
208. נֶאֱקָה \* נֶאֱקָה Job xxiv. 12, נֶאֱקָה (נֶאֱקָה) 'groan.'
209. נֶבֶל, נֶבֶל; J. L. נֶבֶל 'be soiled') 'wither.'
210. נֶבֶל (נֶבֶל) 'be foolish, act foolishly,' Pr. xxx. 32.†
211. נֶגַה \* נֶגַה Job xviii. 5, a. נֶגַה 'dawn,' originally 'shining,' Is. lix. 9) 'shine.'
212. נֶגַשׁ (נֶגַשׁ, *impr.* נֶגַשׁ) 'approach.'
213. נֶדָּב (נֶדָּב) 'willingness;' נֶדָּב *naduba* 'be noble, active') 'impel to give willingly.'
214. נֶדַד (נֶדַד) Gen. xxxi. 40; נֶדַד 'hate;' נֶדַד: *nadda* 'burn') 'flee.'
215. נֶדַר (נֶדַר) 'vow.'
216. נֶהֱמָה \* נֶהֱמָה; נֶהֱמָה; נֶהֱמָה (*nahima*) 'roar.'
217. נֶהֱקָה (נֶהֱקָה) Job vi. 5, xxx. 7; נֶהֱקָה (*nahiga*) 'bray, cry out.'
218. נֶהַר (נֶהַר) Job iii. 4) 'shine.'
219. נֶוֶד (a. נֶוֶד Is. xvii. 11) 'wander.'
220. נֶוֶה \* (a. נֶוֶה \* נֶוֶה 'beautiful').
221. נֶוַח (נֶוַח, *inf.* נֶוַח) 'come to rest, rest.'
222. נֶוַע (נֶוַע) Is. vii. 2, *inf.* נֶוַע 'totter, tremble, move hither and thither, wander.'
223. נֶוֶר \* (a. נֶוֶר 'lamp,' originally 'shining').
224. נֶזַל (נֶזַל) 'flow.'
225. נֶחַלָּה, נֶחַלָּה (נֶחַלָּה) 'possess, inherit.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König *Lehrgeb.*; 2, 1, 83. The reading is perhaps corrupt, LXX and Targ. require נֶעַר.

<sup>2</sup> Contracted from נֶאֱוָה 'beautiful,' probably *Niphal* participle of אִוָּה.

226. נחר (נַחַר\* or נַחֲרָה\* Jer. viii. 16; نَحَرَ *nahira*; נָחַר: *nəḥra*) 'snort, blow,' Jer. vi. 29.†
227. נחת (נָחַת, וַתִּנָּחַת, a. נָחַת\* 2 Kgs. vi. 9; نَسَدَ *naḥat*) 'descend.'
228. נטף (נָטַף; נָטַף נָטַף; cf. *נָטַף* *naṭba*) 'drip.'
229. נכא\* (a. נִכָּא\* נִכָּא\* 'stricken').
230. נכה\* (a. נִכָּה\* c. נָכָה 'smitten').
231. נכח\* (a. נִכַּח\* נִכַּח\* 'lying straight ahead').
232. נעם (נָעַם, נִעַם; נִעַם *na'im*) 'be agreeable.'
233. נקב (נִקְּבָה, נִקְּבָה\* 'female, perforata,' نَقَبَ *naqiba* 'be lacerated, worn') 'bore, pierce.'
234. נקר\* (a. נִקֵּר 'speckled').
235. נקם (נִקְּמָה, נִקְּמָה; نَقِمَ *naqima*) 'take vengeance.'
236. נשה (נָשָׂה, pf. Lam. iii. 17; نَسِيَ *nasi'a*) 'forget.'†
237. נשך (נָשַׁךְ; נָשַׁךְ נָשַׁךְ 'bite.'
238. נשל (נָשַׁל, impr. נִשַּׁל) 'take off, fall off or out.'
239. נשם (נִשְׁמָה, נִשְׁמָה) 'breathe violently,' Is. xlii. 14.†
240. נשק (נָשַׁק; נִשַּׁק נִשַּׁק, J. T. נִשִּׁיק 'kiss.'
241. נתך (נָתַךְ) 'overflow, be poured out.'
242. נתן (נָתַן, impf. נִתֵּן Jud. xvi. 5) 'give.'
243. נתר (נָתַר Job xxxvii. 1) 'leap up [of heart].'
244. נטר (נָטַר) 'turn aside.'
245. נלק (נָלַק; נִלַּק נִלַּק Ps. cxxxix. 8; سَلَكَ *saliḥa*) 'ascend.'†
246. נרח (נָרַח, תִּסְרַח Ex. xxvi. 12; سَرَحَ *sariḥa*) 'overhang, spread out freely.'
247. סרר (a. סָרָר) 'be refractory, rebellious.'

<sup>1</sup> So König 2. 1, 81 f, 462, the doubling of the third consonant taking the place of the lengthening of the characteristic vowel as in

עָגְלִים, קָטָן, קָטָן 'round,' קָטָן, קָטָן.

<sup>2</sup> An Aramaism, cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 19, f and § 66, e.



248. עֲבַד (עֲבָדָה) <sup>1</sup> 'work, service;' عِبْد 'abuda 'be a slave')  
'work, serve.'
249. עֵבֶה (pf.; עֲבִי חֵס: 'abīa) 'be thick, fat.'
250. עֲבַר (עֲבָרָה; עֲבִי 'abira) 'overflow; cross, pass over.'
251. עֲבַת\* (עֲבָת 'thickly woven').
252. עֲבָה; עֲבָתָה\* עֲבָה Ez. xxiii. 5, וְהָעֵבֶה (ajība) 'عجب  
'desire, lust for.'
253. עָגַל\* (a. عَجَلَ 'ajila 'hasten').
254. עֲרֵנָה\* עָרֵן 'voluptuous pleasure,' Gen. xviii. 12).
255. עֹד (a. عَر 'witness') kt. 'cite as an example,' Lam. ii.  
13.†
256. עָו (inf. עָוָה Is. xxx. 2.) 'seek refuge.'†
257. עֹלָה\* עוֹלָה 'unrighteousness').
258. עֹר (a. عَار; عَارِ jagāru 'be jealous') 'awake.'
259. עָזַז (a. عَزَزَ; عَزَزْتَ 'azizta) 'be strong.'
260. עֹזֵר (עֲזָרָה) 'help.'
261. עִיט (וְיָעִט 1 Sam. xxv. 14) 'rush upon.'
262. עִיף (וְיָעִף, a. عَافَ) <sup>2</sup> 'be exhausted.'
263. עָלָה (pf., impf., a. عَالَا 'aliā 'be or become high, ascend') 'ascend,  
up; 'ascend, go up.'
264. עָלַז (a. عَازَ Is. v. 14) 'rejoice.'
265. עֲלָטָה\* עֲלָט 'thick darkness;' غُلْظ galuza 'be thick,  
dense').

<sup>1</sup> עֲבָדָה probably bears the same relation to adjectives of the form *qatul* as abstract nouns like מְלָאָה do to adjectives of the form *qatīl*, cf. p. 152. The only other abstract of this form is סְחָרָה\* Ez. xxvii, 15, which is probably corrupt: cf. Prof. Toy's critical notes on the Hebrew text of Ezekiel, in *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament* ed. Prof. Haupt, p. 83, l. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The verbal forms are doubtful; the perfect עִיפָה may be read as the adjective עִיפָה, the imperfect וְיָעִף, וְיָעִף from יָעַף.

266. עמל (a. עמל, עמל; نَعَمَلَ *amila*) 'fatigue, exert oneself, labor.'
267. עמק (a. עמק, עמק; اَمَقَ *amuqa*; اَمَقَ *amāq*; اَمَقَ *amāq*) 'be deep,' Ps. xcii. 6.†
268. ענג\* (a. ענג, 'effeminate; غَنَجَ *ganija* 'be coy, coquettish').
269. ענה (pf., impf., ענה; عَنِ *aniia*) 'be pressed down, suffer.'
270. ענף\* (a. ענף, 'full of branches,' Ezek. xix. 10).
271. עצל\* (a. עצל, 'lazy,' عَظَلَ *azila*; عَظَلَ *azila*) 'stick together'.
272. עצם (a. עצם, 'strong, mighty,' عَظَّمَ *azuma*) 'be strong, mighty.'
273. עקב (a. עקב, 'deceive,' عَقَبَ *aqaba*).
274. עקר (a. עקר, 'banded, striped') 'bind,' Gen. xxii. 9.†
275. ערב (a. ערב, 'be sweet,' عَرَبَ *araba*).
276. ערה\* (a. ערה, 'bare places,' originally 'bare, naked,' Is. xix. 7, ערה, ערה; عَرَى *ariia*).
277. ערל (a. ערל, 'uncircumcised,' عَرَّلَ *garila*) 'circumcise,' Lev. xix. 23.†
278. ערם\* (a. ערם, 'naked').<sup>4</sup>
279. ערמה\* (a. ערמה, 'heap').
280. ערם (a. ערם, 'be sly, crafty,' عَرَمَ *aruma*).
281. עשן (a. עשן, 'smoke,' عَشَنَ *ashana*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. construct plural יראי of ירא 'fearing.'

<sup>2</sup> Denominative from ענף 'branch.'

<sup>3</sup> Denominative from ערלה 'foreskin.'

<sup>4</sup> Secondary stem made on the basis of עירם 'naked' from עור.

282. עֶשֶׂק (*a.* עֶשֶׂק Jer. xxii. 3, עֶשֶׂק Is. xxxviii. 14) 'oppress.'
283. עֶשֶׂר (*a.* עֶשֶׂר Job xv. 29; cf. عَثِل 'athila 'be much') 'be rich.'
284. עֶשֶׂשׁ (*a.* עֶשֶׂשׁ Ps. xxxi. 11) 'be grieved, waste away.'
285. עֶשֶׂת (*a.* עֶשֶׂת Ezek. xxvii. 19) 'be smooth,' Jer. v. 28.†
286. עֶתֶק (*a.* עֶתֶק, عَتَق 'atuqa) 'advance, become old.'
287. עֶתֶר (*a.* עֶתֶר) 'pray.'
288. פֶּגֶשׁ (*a.* פֶּגֶשׁ or פֶּגֶשׁ Gen. xxxii. 18) 'meet.'
289. פֶּדָה (*a.* פֶּדָה pf., impf.; فَدَا fada [impr.]) 'redeem.'
290. פֶּוֹשׁ (*a.* פֶּוֹשׁ Mal. iii. 20) 'spring, skip.'
291. פֶּחַד (*a.* פֶּחַד Jer. ii. 19) 'tremble, fear.'
292. פֶּטֶר (*a.* פֶּטֶר 1 Sam. xix. 10) 'get away, escape.'†
293. פֶּלֶט (*a.* פֶּלֶט and פֶּלֶט \*פֶּלֶט and فَلَط fala) 'escape,' Ezek. vii. 16.†
294. פָּנָה (*a.* פָּנָה pf., impf.; فَنَى faniya 'vanish') 'turn, depart.'
295. פָּסָה (*a.* פָּסָה Ps. xii. 2) 'cease, vanish.'†
296. פָּצַר (*a.* פָּצַר) 'urge.'
297. פָּרָה (*a.* פָּרָה pf., impf.; فَارَا fariya) 'be fruitful, bloom.'
298. פָּשַׁט (*a.* פָּשַׁט 1 Sam. xix. 24; J. פָּשַׁט) 'take off (clothes), plunder.'
299. פָּתָה (*a.* פָּתָה impf.; فَتَى fatiya) 'be open, simple, inexperienced.'
300. צָבָה (*a.* צָבָה \*צָבָה Num. v. 21) 'swell up,' Num. v. 27.†

<sup>1</sup> Professor Haupt compares this word with Assyrian *ašāšu* 'be grieved,' cf. Delitzsch HW. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 44, d. König, *Lehrgeb.* 2, 1, 510, and Stade, *Lehrb.* § 77, b, regard the *i* as a phonetic modification of *a*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Barth, *Nominalb.* § 112. The *scriptio plena* is perhaps due to the influence of the synonymous פֶּלֶט. Olshausen, *Lehrb.* § 180, and Lagarde, *Übers.*, 85, regard the form as a diminutive like the Arabic *qutail*.

301. צדק (יִצְדֵּק, יִצְדָּקָה; J. L. T. צדיק; צדק: *ṣadqa*) 'be proper, right, righteous.'
302. צהב\* (a. צָהָב 'gold-colored'; صهب *ṣahiba* 'be blackish-red').
303. צוח (יִצְוֹחַ) Is. xlii. 11, צוֹחָה 'cry for joy.'†
304. צור (וַיִּצֹר) 'press together, close up.'
305. צור (תִּצֹר) Deut. ii. 9) 'attack, distress.'
306. צור (וַיִּצֹר) 'form.'
307. צח (יִצְחַח) Lam. iv. 7, a. צַח 'be white, bright, clear.'†
308. צחן\* (יִצְחָנָה\* צִחְנָה) 'stench,' Jo. ii. 20).
309. צחק (יִצְחַק; دَحِك: دَحِك: *ḍahika*)<sup>1</sup> 'laugh.'
310. צחר\* (a. צָחַר\* צָחֵר 'white,' Jud. v. 10).
311. צלח (יִצְלַח, יִצְלַח; صالح *ṣaluḥa*) 'be successful, succeed, come upon.'
312. צלל (תִּצְלֶנָה) 2 Kgs. xxi. 12, Jer. xix. 3) 'tingle.'
313. צמא (יִצְמָא, יִצְמָא; a. צָמָא, צָמָא, צָמָא; ظمى *ẓami'a*) 'be thirsty.'
314. צנף (יִצְנֶפֶה) 'skein,' Is. xxii. 18) 'wind.'
315. צעד (יִצְעַד, יִצְעַד; صعد *ṣa'ida*) 'grow up, advance, stride.'
316. צען (יִצְעֵן) Is. xxxiii. 20; טען 'carry, bear, suffer') 'be carried away' [?].†
317. צעק (יִצְעֵק; impr. יִצְעֵק; Jer. xxii. 20, צעקה; صق *ṣa'iqā*) 'cry out.'
318. צער (יִצְעֹר) Jer. xxx. 19, a. צָעֹר *kt.* Jer. xiv. 3, xlviii. 4; J. L. T. צעיר; صغر *ṣaḡira, ṣaḡura*) 'be small, mean.'
319. צר (יִצֹר, יִצֹר; inf. צָר, a. צָר) 'be pressed together, narrow.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 63.

320. קִדְמָה \*קִדְמָה 'what is before, origin,' *קִדְמָה* *prep.*; *קָדַם* *qadima* 'be bold, arrive at').
321. קִדְשׁ; קִדְשׁ *qadusa* 'be holy.' *קִדְשׁ*, *a.* 'cineaedus,' *a.* 'קִדְשׁ' *qadusa* 'be holy.'
322. קָהָה (*impf.*; *קָהָה* *qah*) 'become dull.'
323. קִישׁוֹן (*Is. xxix. 21*) 'lay snares.'†
324. קָטַן; קָטַן *qatina* 'be small, trifling.'
325. קָלַל; קָלַל *qalal* 'curse' 'be light, swift, of little account.'
326. קָמַל (*Is. xix. 6*; *qamila* 'be full of lice') 'wither.'
327. קָנָא (*passion, jealousy*).
328. קָסָם (*Ezek. xiii. 23*; *T. Qasam*) 'divine.'
329. קָפַד; קָפַד *qafida* 'bristle up;'
330. קָצַף; קָצַף (*qacifa* 'be weak, broken').
331. קָצַר; קָצַר *qacura, qacira* 'be short.'
332. קָרָא (*inf.* *qara*) 'meet.'
333. קָרַב; קָרַב *qaruba, qariba*; קָרַב *qarba* 'approach.'
334. קָרָה (*impf.*, *a.* *qara* *c.* *qara*) 'happening,' *Deut. xxiii. 11*; cf. *laqiya* 'meet' 'meet.'
335. קָרַח (*qarah*) 'shave.'
336. קָרַם (*Ezek. xxxvii. 8*) 'be drawn over.'†

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* §§ 24, e; 45, d.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps to be read as *Niphal* *qarim*.

337. קָרַר (a. קָר 'cold; قَرَرْتُ *qarirta*, 'be cold; قَلَّلَ: *qallā*).  
 338. קָשַׁב (תִּקְשְׁבֶנָּה Is. xxxii. 3) 'be sharp [of ears].'<sup>†</sup>  
 339. קָשָׁה (*impf.*, a. קָשָׁה) 'be hard, severe.'  
 340. רָאָה (*pf.*, *impf.*, *inf.* רָאָה Ezek. xxviii. 17, a. רָאָה\*  
           c. רָאָה Job x. 15; رَأَى: *rā'ya*) 'see.'  
 341. רָבַב (רָבַב, a. רָב, רִבְבָה) 'be or become much.'  
 342. רָבַב (*pf.* רָבַב Gen. xlix. 23) 'shoot' [?].<sup>†</sup>  
 343. רָבָה (*pf.*, *impf.*; رָبَى; رَابِيًا *rabiya*) 'increase, become great.'  
 344. רָבַע (*inf.* רָבַע Lev. xx. 16) 'lie with.'  
 345. רָבַץ (רָבַץ; רָבִיעַ J. רָבִיעַ) 'crouch down, lurk.'  
 346. רָגַז (רָגַז; רָגַז, רָגַז, impr. רָגַז) 'be excited, aroused.'  
 347. רָגַע\* (a. רָגַע, רָגַע 'peaceful, quiet,' Ps. xxxv. 20).  
 348. רָגַשׁ (רָגַשׁ; رָغَشَ *ragha*) 'be aroused, in restless motion,' Ps. ii. 1.<sup>†</sup>  
 349. רָדַד (*inf.* רָדַד Is. xlv. 1) *pt.* 'tread down, subdue.'  
 350. רָהַב (impr. רָהַב Pr. vi. 3; J. L. T. رَهَب; رَاهِب *rahiba* 'fear') 'be proud, violent to; urge.'  
 351. רוּה (*impf.*, a. רוּה, רוּה; رَوَى; رَوَى *rayiya*; رَوَى: *rayiya*) 'drink to satiety, be satisfied with drink.'  
 352. רוּחַ (רוּחַ; رُوْحَة Job xxxii. 20, رُوْحَة; رَوِيح *rayiha*) 'become wide, pleasant.'  
 353. רוּם (*inf.* רוּם Ezek. x. 17; Bib. Ar. رَمَ) 'be or become high.'  
 354. רוּה (רוּה; رَوَى *radhiya* 'become lean') 'make vanish' [?], Zeph. ii. 11.<sup>†</sup>  
 355. רוּן (a. רוּן 'prince,' Pr. xiv. 28; رَزَن *razuna* 'be heavy')  
           *pt.* 'prince.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 169, ft. nt. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps corrupt, cf. Perles, *Analekten*, p. 61.

356. רחם (אַרְחַמְךָ) Ps. xviii. 2; רַחַם יִסֵּל; רַחֵם, *rahîma*, רַחֵם, *rahîma*; cf. מֵחַרָּה: *mēhṛa*) 'love.'<sup>†</sup>
357. רחץ (יִרְחֹץ, יִרְחַץ, *inf.* יִרְחֹץ) 'wash.'
358. רחק (יִרְחַק, *inf.* יִרְחַק, *a.* יִרְחַק) Ps. lxxiii. 27, *a.* יִרְחַק; רַחֵק: *rēḥqa*) 'be or become distant.'
359. רטב (יִרְטֹב) Job xxiv. 8, *a.* יִרְטֹב Job viii. 16; רַטֵּב; רַטֵּב, *ratîba*, *ratûba*; רַטֵּב: *ratîba*) 'be wet, moist.'<sup>†</sup>
360. ריק (א. רֵק 'empty, vain').
361. רכב (יִרְכֹּב, יִרְכַּב; רַכֵּב; רַכֵּב, *inf.* יִרְכֹּב, *a.* יִרְכֹּב) *irakku*) 'be thin, fine, weak.'
362. רם (יִרְמֹם, *inf.* יִרְמֹם, *a.* יִרְמֹם) Job xxiv. 24) 'rise up, become high.'<sup>†</sup>
363. רנן (יִרְנֵן) 'cry out aloud, rejoice.'
364. רעב (יִרְעֹב, *inf.* יִרְעֹב, *a.* יִרְעֹב) *ragîba*, *ragûba*; cf. רַעֵב: *rēḥba*) 'be hungry.'
365. רעד (יִרְעֹד, *inf.* יִרְעֹד, *a.* יִרְעֹד) Ps. civ. 32, רַעֵד: *rē'da*) 'tremble.'<sup>†</sup>
366. רעה (יִרְעֶה, *inf.* יִרְעֶה, *a.* יִרְעֶה) (pf., *impf.*; רַעֵה: *rē'ia*) 'tend, pasture.'
367. רעם (יִרְעֹם, *inf.* יִרְעֹם, *a.* יִרְעֹם) 'roar.'
368. רע (יִרְעֶה, *inf.* יִרְעֶה, *a.* יִרְעֶה) 'be bad, evil.'
369. רעש (יִרְעֹשׁ, *inf.* יִרְעֹשׁ, *a.* יִרְעֹשׁ) *ra'asa*, but רַעֵשׁ: *ra'isha*) 'be shaken, tremble.'
370. רפד (יִרְפֹּד) Job xli. 22) 'be spread out.'<sup>‡</sup>
371. רפה (יִרְפֶּה, *inf.* יִרְפֶּה, *a.* יִרְפֶּה) 'sink down, be limp.'
372. רצה (יִרְצֶה, *inf.* יִרְצֶה, *a.* יִרְצֶה) (pf., *impf.*; רַצֵּה: *radîia*) 'be pleased, like.'
373. רקב (יִרְקֶה, *inf.* יִרְקֶה, *a.* יִרְקֶה) J. רַקֵּב) 'rot.'

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, Part III, p. 1141a.

<sup>‡</sup> The *daghesh* may be *affectuosum*, and the form, therefore, an *u* perfect from רום (353). So Stade, *Lehrb.* §§ 413, e; 138, b.

<sup>§</sup> Usually translated 'spread out' *tr.* The meaning 'be spread out' suits the context just as well, and agrees better with the intransitive form.





394. **שאר** (**שְׂאִירִית**) 'remainder, remnant;' **سائر** *sa'ira* 'remain over,' 1 Sam. xvi. 11.†
395. **שבה** (*pf.*, *impr.*, **שְׁבִיָּה** 'captivity') 'carry into captivity.'
396. **שבת** (**תִּשְׁבֹּת**) Lev. xxvi. 34) 'stop, rest.'
397. **שגג** (**שְׁגָגָה**) 'go astray, err.'
398. **שגל** (**יִשְׁגַּלְנָה**) Deut. xxviii. 30) 'lie with.'†
399. **שרף** (**שִׁרְפָה**) 'burning,' 2 Kgs. xix. 26) *pt. p.*, 'burnt.'
400. **שוב** (*inf.* **שֵׁב** Josh. ii. 16) 'turn.'
401. **שוה** (*impf.*, *a.* **שֹׁוה**\* **שֹׁוה**³ 'plain,' originally 'level,' Gen. xiv. 5; **سوى** *sauya*) 'be like, equal.'
402. **שוע** (**שְׁוַעָה**\*) *c.* and *s.* 'cry for help'.
403. **שחח** (**שָׁח**, *a.* **שָׁח**\*)³ 'bend down, be bent down, depressed.'
404. **שחט** (**יִשְׁחַט**, **שָׁחַטָה** [?]) Hos. v. 2) 'slaughter.'
405. **שחר** (*a.* **שָׁחַר**) 'become black,' Job xxx. 30.†
406. **שיר** (**וַתִּשֶׁר**) Jud. v. 1) 'sing.'
407. **שכב** (**שָׁכַב**, *inf.* **שָׁכַב**, **שָׁכַבָה**\*) 'pouring out;' **שָׁכַב מֵחַ**; **سكبا** : *sakba*) 'lie, recline.'
408. **שכח** (**שָׁכַחָה** and *s.*, **יִשְׁכַּח**, *a.* **שָׁכַח**\*) 'forget.'
409. **שכך** (*inf.* **שָׁךְ** Jer. v. 26) 'sink, go down, bend down.'
410. **שכל** (**תִּשְׁכַּלְתִּי**, **תִּשְׁכַּל**; L. T. **תכול**, **תכל** *thakila*) 'become childless.'
411. **שכן** (**שָׁכַן**, *a.* **שָׁכַן**; **שָׁכַן מֵחַ**) 'dwell, inhabit.'
412. **שכר** (**יִשְׁכַּר**, *inf.* **שָׁכַרָה** Hag. i. 6; **سكرا** *sakira*; **سكرا** : *sakra*) 'become drunk.'

† Probably a secondary nominal derivative from an adjective **שְׂאִיר**\*.

² The form **שֹׁוה** is hardly correct, being a combination of the absolute and construct forms; the proper reading is probably the construct **שֹׁוה** (so Haupt).

³ The imperfect **יִשָּׁח** is best considered as belonging to the *Niphal*.



429. שֶׁתָּ (שֶׁתָּ) Ps. xlix. 15, lxxiii. 9) 'set; be placed.'†  
 430. תִּאֲבָה (תִּאֲבָה) Ps. cxix. 20; L. T. תִּאֲבָה 'desire.'  
 431. תָּמַם (תָּמַם, *impf.* אִתָּמַם and תָּמַם, *a.* תָּמַם) 'be complete, perfect.'  
 432. תִּפְלָה (a. תִּפְלָה 'insipid,' *تَفِلَة* *tafila* 'become ill-smelling').  
 \*\*433. דָּאָבָה (inf. דָּאָבָה, דָּאָבָה) 'languish.'

## 2. THE MEANING OF THE INTRANSITIVE VERB.

The great majority of the intransitive verbs in Hebrew denote a physical or mental condition, e. g. יָבֵשׁ 'be dry,' שָׁפַל 'be low,' יָרָא 'fear,' אָהַב 'love'; a passage into such a condition, e. g. גָּדַל 'increase, become great,' צָלַח 'succeed'; or a change of condition, e. g. אָבַד 'perish,' יָקַץ 'wake.' All of these come under the general category of verbs of *being* and *becoming*, for which the term 'stative' may be employed. Such verbs are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 14, 17, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 33, 36, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 134, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 149, 150, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 162, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 184, 185, 192, 193, 196, 198, 200, 204, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 218, 221, 222, 232, 236, 247, 249, 252, 258, 259, 262, 264, 267, 269, 272, 275, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 291, 295, 297, 299, 300, 301, 307, 311, 312, 313, 315, 316(?), 318, 319, 321, 322, 324, 325, 326, 331, 336, 338, 339, 341, 343, 346, 348, 350, 351, 352, 353, 356, 358, 359, 362, 363, 365, 366, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 377, 378, 379, 385, 386, 387, 392, 394, 396, 401, 403, 405, 408, 410, 411, 412, 413, 416, 417, 418, 423, 425, 426, 429, 430, 431, 433.

---

† A modification of שָׁתָּ from שִׁית 'put,' after the analogy of verbs mediæ geminatae. Similar forms are בָּזַ from בִּזַּ 'despise,' טָח from טֹחַ 'daub.'

Those stems from which only derivatives are made, no form of the *Qal* occurring (marked \* in the list), and the following, occurring only as participle or infinitive, viz.: Nos. 13, 27, 42, 109, 174, 199, 355, 375, 399, do not give direct evidence as to the meaning of the verb, although meanings similar to those discussed above are indicated by the derivatives.

Of those verbs which have not distinctly stative meaning many are to be regarded as belonging to the transitive type.

1) In a number of stems, verbs with transitive form and active meaning have intransitive derivatives. In the majority of cases these derivatives point more or less surely towards the existence of a verb of intransitive form and stative meaning alongside of the transitive active verb, just as in the case of קָצַר 'cut off,' קָצַר 'be cut off, be short;' e. g. נִקְבָּה 'perforata, female' indicates the possibility of the former existence of a verb נִקְבָּ\* 'be pierced, perforated': such are Nos. 19, 43 (cf. p. 180) 51, 52 (cf. p. 180) 55, 77, 91, 178, 197 (*a* impf. due to the guttural), 202, 213, 233, 248, 255, 274, 277, 314, 335, 354, 384, 388, 415.

In a few cases the apparently intransitive derivatives belong to the active verbs. In No. 404 the form קָטַל, in Nos. 129, 260, 395, the form קָטְלָה, and in Nos. 203, 205, 357, 421, the form קָטְלָה, is used to make abstract nouns of action: the use of these forms, which are regularly confined to intransitive verbs, has been extended in these few cases to the transitive verb. In No. 31 the adjective or participle בָּחוֹן is best considered a form *qatal*, which is not a special intransitive form in Hebrew. In No. 239 נִשְׁמָה 'breath' is perhaps simply a concrete noun. Those verbs which have *a* imperfects owe these forms to the influence of the gutturals.

2) In the verbs *mediæ infirmæ* Nos. 81, 244, 304, 305, 306, 380, 381, 406, the *a* of the shortened imperfect is due to the guttural ר which is in all cases the final stem-consonant.<sup>1</sup> The intransi-

---

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that in all these cases the first stem-consonant is a sibilant. The only other verbs *mediæ infirmæ* with final ר, which make shortened *imperfects*, viz.: נָוַר 'sojourn,' נָוַר 'fear,' have the transitive form וַיִּנָּר.

tive forms of Nos. 9, 15, 43, 52, 57, 123, 154, 215, 349, and (287) עָתַר 'pray' (cf. עָטַר 'atara 'sacrifice') are probably to be explained in the same way.

3) In the verbs לָ"ה Nos. 24, 179, 289 the only evidence as to the originality of the intransitive forms is furnished by the subjunctive of the cognate verbs in Ethiopic. These intransitive subjunctive forms are rare, in every case the transitive form being more common, and are probably due simply to the fact that in Ethiopic the transitive verbs have a tendency to assume the intransitive form in the subjunctive.<sup>1</sup>

4) The feminine imperatives of Nos. 53 and 63, viz.: נָחִי 'drive forth,' Mic. iv. 10, דָּוִשִׁי 'tread,' Mic. iv. 13, both occur after an imperative of the active form, viz.: חוּלִי נָחִי; קוּמִי דָּוִשִׁי; the apparent intransitive forms are no doubt due to dissimilation, standing for נָחִי, דָּוִשִׁי: cf. forms like נְקוּמוֹת for נְקוּמוֹת<sup>\*2</sup>

5) The following also belong to the transitive type, viz.: 11. אָכַל 'eat,' originally of transitive form in the imperfect, as is shown by נֹאכַל נֹאכַל, יֹאכַל *īa'kulu*, Ass. *ekul*; the *a* of the imperfect is probably due to dissimilation, *īōkal*, < *\*īōkāl*; cf. נֹאזַל 'go' *nēzal* < *\*nēzāl*, the original characteristic vowel of the imperfect being *ē* < *i* as is shown by the imperative נֹזַל.<sup>3</sup>

54. גָּל 'roll;' the only intransitive form *impr.* גָּל is perhaps a shortened imperative *Piel* from גָּלַל.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some transitive verbs like גָּבַר: *qabara* 'bury,' קָטַל: *qatala* 'kill,' make in rare instances an *a* subjunctive, and in the modern dialects Amharic, Tigre, and Tigrīña all subjunctives have the *a* form. Cf. Prætorius, *Die Amharische Sprache*, Halle, 1879, p. 217: *Gram. d. Tigrīña Spr.*, Halle, 1871, p. 276; E. Littmann, *Das Verbum d. Tigre Spr.* ZA. xiv, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stade, *Lehrb.*, § 599, b.

<sup>3</sup> The characteristic *ē* of the imperfects of verbs יֹאכַל, e. g. יֹאכַל, יֹאבֵד, etc., seems to be due also to dissimilation, cf. יֹאחֶז but יֹאחֶז 'seize.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Stade, *op. cit.* § 592, d.

140. יָרָה 'throw [lots];' this verb is a by-form of transitive יָרָה, יָרָה, יָרָה being modified from יָרָה just as שָׁתָה from שָׁתָה; cf. (429).

242. נָתַן 'give;' the only intransitive form is נָתַן in the collocation נָתַן לָךְ 'we will give thee;' the characteristic *a* is a phonetic modification of the more original *i* due possibly to the following *a* vowel.

261. עָיַט 'rush upon;' the *a* of the imperfect is due to the influence of the guttural ע.

400. שָׁב 'return;' the single apparently intransitive form *inf.* שָׁב is probably incorrectly pointed, perhaps on account of the defective writing.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining verbs are more or less readily referable to a stative basis,<sup>2</sup> viz.:

1) Verbs indicating perceptions of the senses, the idea of these verbs being, not the active exercise of the perception, but the condition of the subject while exercising it, viz.: (135) טָעַם 'taste' *tr.*, (340) רָאָה 'see,' (419) שָׁמַע 'hear;' (328) קָסַם 'divine' is probably also to be classed here.

2) Verbs of flowing, overflowing, and dripping, since they indicate conditions rather than actions, viz.: (153) יָצַק 'flow [of blood],' (224) נָזַל 'flow,' (228) נָטַף 'drip,' (241) נָתַךְ 'overflow, be poured out,' (250) עָבַר 'overflow.'

3) Verbs of motion which indicate a change of state like אָבַד 'perish,' אָפַס 'be no more,' viz.: (40) בָּרַח 'flee,' (75) הָלַךְ 'go, depart, vanish,' (76) הִפֵּךְ 'turn, overturn, flee,' (292) פָּטַר 'get away, escape,' (294) פָּנָה 'turn,' (397) שָׁגַג 'go astray;' in these verbs the emphasis was originally on the idea of change of condition; הָלַךְ, however, has come to be in its ordinary use simply a verb of motion 'go'; in the stem הִפֵּךְ there may have been originally two verbs, e. g. הִפֵּךְ 'overturn, destroy,' and הִפֵּךְ\* 'be overturned, destroyed' as in the stem קָצַר.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stade, *Lehrb.* § 619 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Steintal-Misteli, *Charakteristik d. hauptsächlichsten Typen d. Sprachb.*, p. 458.

4) Verbs of *approaching* and *meeting*, the original idea being 'to be or become near, come in contact with,' viz.: Nos. 212, 288, 332, 333, 334.

5) Verbs meaning 'to be in or to assume a certain position,' the stative idea being more original, viz.: (41) כָּרַךְ 'kneel,' (49) נָהַר 'bend down,' (344) רָבַע 'lie with,' (345) רָבַץ 'lie down, crouch,' (361) רָכַב 'ride, mount,' (407) שָׁכַב 'lie, recline,' (409) שָׁכַד 'sink, go down, bend down.'

6) Verbs denoting various kinds of cries and modes of speech, which may be spoken of as verbs of *utterance*, e. g. זָעַק 'cry out,' צָחַק 'laugh': these are to be considered similar to verbs which denote an emotional state, such as יָרָא 'fear,' שָׂמַח 'rejoice,' since an emotion and its expression are closely connected in the minds of a primitive people; they are Nos. 18, 56, 86, 188, 208, 216, 217, 226, 303, 309, 317, 364, 368, 382, 391, 427. Here also is probably to be classed (187) לָעַג 'mock,' cf. Syriac.

7) Verbs which indicate various actions of the lips, mouth, and throat, such as sucking, licking, swallowing, etc.: these verbs must have referred originally to the specific quality of the action, rather than to the action as such; they are (34) בָּלַע 'swallow,' (148) יָנַק 'suck,' (189) לָעַע 'sip' (if it is not rather לָוַע), (237) נָשַׁךְ 'bite.' Here are also probably to be classed (428) שָׁתָה 'drink,' and (240) נָשַׁק 'kiss.'

8) The following verbs, which are best considered individually, viz.:

12. אָלַף 'learn,' originally 'be or become accustomed to,' cf. Arabic.

29. בָּוָא 'enter, come,' to be connected with the preposition בִּי 'in,' originally perhaps 'be or become inside' then to 'enter, come.'

32. בָּטַח 'trust,' indicates a condition of the mind like אָהַב 'love.'

35. בָּעַל 'rule over, possess,' denominative from בָּעַל 'lord,' meaning originally 'be lord, ruler.'

74. הָדָר 'honor, take the part of,' to be regarded like (32).

90. חָבַשׁ 'bind;' the single intransitive form indicates a characteristic of the deity, הוּא יִכְאִיב וַיִּחַבֵּשׁ 'he wounds and binds up,' and to this fact its intransitive form may be due.

98. חטא 'sin,' originally 'be without, miss' like יָדָא: *bat'a*.

107. חָמַם 'act violently to, hurt,' originally 'be violent,' cf. Arabic.

118. חָצַב 'hew;' the original idea of the verb was probably that of continuous action which is analogous to state; the idea of simple action, however, has prevailed, the forms of the verb being regularly transitive.

133. טָחַן 'grind,' probably to be regarded as the preceding verb.

136. טָרַף 'tear, rend;' the single intransitive form that occurs indicates a quality, viz.: יָאֵב טָרַף 'a wolf that ravens, a ravening wolf,' and may hence be regarded as stative.

146. יָלַד 'bear,' referred originally to the condition of the mother: the idea of action, however, seems to have prevailed, nearly all of the forms being transitive.

161. יָקַשׁ 'lay snares,' denominative from יָקַשׁ 'fowler,' meaning originally 'be a fowler.'

164. יָרַד 'descend;' the intransitive imperfect forms are used either in the idiom 'descend in tears' used of the eye, Jer. ix. 17, xiii. 17, xiv. 17, Lam. iii. 48, where the verb is practically equivalent to דָּמַע 'be full of tears' or מָלֵא 'be full;' or they stand in pause, 2 Sam. xxii. 10, Ps. xviii. 10, Pr. xxx. 4, Job xvii. 16, where the *a* may be regarded as due to the influence of the ר, which was perhaps more strongly guttural in this position. When the verb means simply 'descend,' the forms are regularly transitive.

166. יָרַשׁ 'inherit,' originally 'be heir.'

182. לָבַשׁ 'put on,' originally 'be dressed, clothed.'

186. לָמַד 'learn,' originally be or become accustomed to,' cf. (12).

214. נָדַד 'flee,' perhaps originally 'dislike, hate,' cf. Syriac and قَالِي *qaliia* 'hate, leave.'

219. נָוַד 'wander,' referred originally to the condition of the subject, cf. (222) נָוַע 'totter, tremble, move hither and thither, wander.'

225. נָחַל 'possess, inherit,' refers to a condition of the subject, cf. (166).



227. נחַת 'descend,' perhaps to be connected with the verb נַח 'come to rest,' meaning originally 'be or become at rest,' 'settle down,' then 'descend.'

235. נָקַם 'take vengeance,' originally 'be revengeful.'

238. נָשַׁל 'take off, fall off or out;' the original meaning of the intransitive forms was 'be taken off, removed' then 'fall off.'

243. נָתַר 'leap up [of heart],' may refer to condition, rather than action, or the *a* of the imperfect may be due to the נ.

245. סָלַק 'ascend;' the single form which occurs is doubtless an Aramaism; the verb may have meant originally 'be or become high,' cf. (263).

246. סָרַח 'overhang, spread out freely,' perhaps originally 'be abundant, overflow.'

256. עָוָה 'seek refuge;' if the intransitive infinitive is not simply due to assonance with the following word, viz.: לָעוֹה בְּמַעוֹה פְּרַעָה 'to seek refuge in the refuge of Pharaoh,' it is to be considered as similar to (32) בָּטַח 'trust;' cf. חָסַה 'seek refuge, trust.'

263. עָלָה 'ascend, go up,' originally 'be or become high,' cf. Arabic.

266. עָמַל 'fatigue, exert oneself, work,' originally 'be fatigued by hard work,' then simply 'work.'

273. עָקַב 'deceive,' originally 'be crooked, deceitful,' cf. derivatives.

282. עָשַׁק 'oppress;' the original meaning was probably 'be strong, violent,' cf. derivatives, (107), and Ass. *ešēqu* 'be strong, mighty.'

290. פָּוֵשׁ 'spring, skip;' if the single intransitive form is not due to some phonetic modification, originally 'be lively.'

293. פָּלַט 'escape,' originally 'remain alive,' cf. Ass. *balātu* 'live.'

296. פָּצַר 'urge;' the original meaning may have been 'be hard upon,' the verb being then like (107), (282), or the *a* of the imperfect may be due to the פ.

298. פָּשַׁט 'take off [clothes];' the single intransitive form is perhaps to be explained similarly to (182), originally 'be undressed, stripped.'

323. קָיַשׁ 'lay snares;' קִישׁוֹן is probably to be amended יִקְשֵׁי from (161) יָקַשׁ.

342. רַבַּב 'shoot;' the single doubtful intransitive form is usually so translated. If the form is correct, the meaning may be different; the verb is used intransitively and therefore may have had a stative meaning; it is perhaps to be connected with רַבַּב 'be great.' On the other hand the text may be corrupt.

367. רָעָה 'tend, pasture,' denotes an occupation, which is similar to a condition.

383. שָׁטַן 'oppose,' originally 'to be an adversary, be opposed to.'

390. שָׂאב 'draw [water],' perhaps originally 'have sufficient water,' like (351) רוּחַ, cf. Arabic.

393. שָׁאַל 'ask,' perhaps originally 'desire;' at least it is to be classed with verbs of 'desiring.'

398. שָׁגַל 'lie with;' the vocalization of the single intransitive form is that of the *Qere* שָׁכַב; it is possible, however, that the verb has originally stative meaning like שָׁכַב 'lie, be in a reclining position,' then 'lie with.'

414. שָׁלַט 'rule over,' originally indicated a condition, cf. Arabic.

In these verbs with more or less active meanings, which are to be referred to a stative basis, it is to be noticed that in a large number of cases the verb has prevaillingly transitive form, intransitive forms being comparatively few. The general tendency for verbs of the intransitive type to pass over to the active (cf. p. 196) has here been aided by the meaning. Theoretically the majority of these verbs may be regarded as denoting either a condition or an action, and their intransitive forms may be explained as due to the fact that they, like those verbs which have undoubtedly stative meaning, were originally looked upon as denoting conditions by the primitive Semites.

Verbs which have transitive form regularly denote action of some sort, e. g. בָּרָא 'create,' הָרַג 'kill,' דָּקַר 'pierce,' כָּרַת 'cut,' פָּעַל 'do, make,' יָצָא 'go out,' כָּרַע 'kneel down,' רָמַשׁ 'creep,' etc., but there are a number of verbs with transitive form, or at least with no decisive intransitive form, that have meanings similar to those of the intransitive verbs. Excluding verbs ל"ה, which have only one type of inflection, and verbs mediæ infirmæ, almost all of which have transitive form without regard to meaning, these verbs are the following (*impf.* = imper-

fect in *a*; other abbreviations, etc., as in the previous list; the numbering is consecutive to that of this list), viz.:

434. אחר *impf.* 'remain behind.'  
 435. נחל 'be disgusted.'  
 436. בחר *impf.* 'choose' (בַּחַר *bahara* 'split').  
 437. בטל 'rest, be still' (בָּטַל *batila*; **ḥ-ma**: *ḡbtal*).  
 438. בלל 'I am anointed,' Ps. xcii. 11; probably to be read (בְּלוֹתִי 'anoint.'  
 439. ברד 'hail.'  
 440. ברק 'lighten' (J. L. בְּרִיק 'shine').  
 441. גוע *impf.* 'depart, die.'  
 442. גלש 'stream forth.'  
 443. גמל (*pt.* 'ready, ripe,' Is. xviii. 5) 'complete, make ready.'  
 444. גמר 'complete, be complete.'  
 445. געל *impf.* 'abominate.'  
 446. געש *impf.* 'shake, totter.'  
 447. גרס 'be crushed.'  
 448. דגדג 'brood, hatch' (J. L. T. דִּגְר 'heap up, collect').  
 449. דלף 'drip' (דָּלַף *ḡḡ*).  
 450. דשא 'become green.'  
 451. הלל 'shine.'  
 452. הלל 'be foolish, godless.'  
 453. זחל 'fear' (זָחַל *ḡḡ*).  
 454. זכר 'remember' (זָכַר *dhakara*; **HhZ**: *zakara*, subj. once **ḡHhZ**: *ḡžkar*).  
 455. זמם 'think, plan' (זָמַם *hum, sound*).  
 456. זנח *impf.* 'despise, spurn' (זָנַח *zaniḡa* 'stink').  
 457. זעם *impf.* *a* and *o* 'be angry with, punish, curse' (זָעַם 'reprehend').  
 458. זרח *impf.* 'rise [of sun].'  
 459. חבל 'act corruptly' (חָבַל *habila* 'be corrupt, unsound, insane').

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 180, ft. nt. 1.

460. חלל 'be pierced.'
461. חלם 'become mature' (חלם *haluma* 'be healthy, virile').
462. חלם 'dream.'
463. חלף 'pass by, vanish, change' (J. L. חליף 'pass by, be gone').
464. חמר 'foam.'
465. חרג 'tremble' (חרג *harija* 'be narrow, straitened').
466. חשב 'consider, reckon, plan' (J. T. חשיב; חשב *hasiba*).
467. חשק 'be bound to, hang to' (J. L. T. חשק 'bind').
468. טפש 'be fat, dull, unfeeling' (J. L. T. טפיש 'be foolish'; טפס *tafisa* 'be careless of one's appearance').
469. יאב 'desire' (יאב *ab*).
470. ידע *impf.* 'know.'
471. ירט 'be steep, plunge down; surrender.'
472. ירע 'despair, tremble' (ירע *yari'a* 'keep away from, avoid').
473. ישב 'sit, dwell' (ישב *ab*).
474. כחש 'decrease, become lean.'
475. כמה 'become weak, long for' (כמה *kamiha* 'become gray, weak-sighted').
476. כסף 'long for.'
477. כשל 'stumble.'
478. להט *pt.* 'flaming' (להט *ab* 'kindle').
479. לחך *inf.* 'lick' (J. T. לחיך; לחך *lahika*).
480. לעז *pt.* 'speaking unintelligibly' (לעז *ab* 'speak indistinctly').
481. לקק 'lick, lap' (לקק *laqqa impf. u*).
482. מאם *impf.* 'spurn, despise' (J. מאים 'be sticky, soiled').
483. מכך 'sink down, be brought low' (מכך *ab* 'be scattered, despised').
484. מלך 'rule.'
485. מער *impf.* 'be unsteady, slip, totter.'
486. מעל *impf. a and o* 'act faithlessly.'
487. מצין 'suck' (T. מצין; מצצ *maṣṣa*).
488. מרד 'be disobedient, rebellious' (מרד *J.*, נמרד *J.*, מרד *T.*; מרד *maruda*).

489. מִשַּׁל 'rule.'  
 490. מִשַּׁשׁ 'feel, touch' (مَسِسْتُ *masista*).  
 491. מִתֵּק 'find pleasant, suck,' Job xxiv. 20.  
 492. נִבַּח *inf.* 'bark.'  
 493. נָהַר 'flow.'  
 494. נָטַר 'watch, keep, be angry.'  
 495. נָכַל *pt.* 'deceitful' (نَكَلَ *naḵal*).  
 496. נָעַר 'growl, roar.'  
 497. נָפַל 'fall.'  
 498. נִצֵּץ *pt.* 'sparkling.'  
 499. נִקַּע 'be alienated, estranged.'  
 500. נִשַּׁב 'blow' (نَشَبَ *naṣab*, cf. J. נָתַיב).  
 501. נִשַּׁף 'blow.'  
 502. נִשְׁתָּה 'become dry.'  
 503. נִשָּׁן *pt.* 'shod' (نَسَنَ *naṣan*).  
 504. סָבָא 'drink, carouse.'  
 505. סָכַן 'attend, be useful, profit.'  
 506. סָלַח *impf.* 'forgive.'  
 507. סָמַר 'shudder.'  
 508. סָפַר 'lament' (L. סִפֵּר).  
 509. עָבִישׁ 'dry up' (عَبَسَ *abisa*).  
 510. עָנַם 'be grieved.'  
 511. עָרַף *pt.* 'overhanging, exceeding' (L. עָרִיף 'be more, preferable').  
 512. עָטַף 'be weak' (cf. غَطِبَ *aṭiba* 'be powerless, die').  
 513. עָלַם } 'rejoice' (cf. a. עָלַז).  
 514. עָלַץ }  
 515. עָמַד 'stand.'  
 516. עָרַב 'become evening' (عَرَبَ *gariba*; عَرَبَ *arba*).  
 517. עָרַג 'long, cry for' (عَرَا *arga* 'ascend').  
 518. עָרַף 'drip' (cf. רָעַף below).  
 519. עָרַץ 'terrify, be afraid' (عَرِضَ *ariza* 'be or become lively').  
 520. פָּחַז 'be dexterous.'  
 521. פָּחַז *pt.* 'haughty, wanton' (L. T. פָּחַז 'be frivolous'; فَاخَزَ *fahiza* 'be proud, boast').

522. פסח *pt.* 'limping, halting' (فسح *fasiḥa* 'become corrupt, disordered').
523. פצה *pt.* 'rejoice' (فصح *faṣuḥa* 'be bright, clear').
524. פרח *impf.* 'bloom, be inflamed, break out.'
525. פשע *impf.* 'be rebellious' (cf. فسق *fasuqa* 'turn from right').
526. צהל *impf.* 'neigh.'
527. צלל 'sink down' (ضلت *ḍalilta* 'err, go astray').
528. צלל 'become dark' (ظلت *ḏalilta* 'be in night or day').
529. צמח *impf.* 'sprout forth.'
530. צמק *pt.* 'dry, dried up' (J. צמיק 'shrink').
531. צפר 'contract, stick to.'
532. צרח *pt.* 'crying out.'
533. קדר 'be or become dirty, dark, lament' (قذر *qadhira*, *qadhura* 'be dirty').<sup>1</sup>
534. קפא 'be condensed, congealed.'
535. קצף 'be angry' (كاف *kaḏifa* 'be afraid, angry, envy, revile').
536. קרן 'be horned, emit rays.'
537. רגן *pt.* 'murmuring.'
538. רנע ('palpitate,' Job vii. 5) 'stir up, terrify.'
539. רדף 'follow, pursue' (T. ירדף; ردف *radifa* 'be after, ride behind').
540. רחב 'be wide, open' (J. L. T. רחיב; رحب *raḥiba*, *raḥuba*; רחב *rēḥba*).
541. רחף 'be weak, wabble' (رخف *raḥifa* 'be soft, thin').
542. רחש 'be excited, bubble up' (رحش *raḥiṣ* 'creep, move').
543. רמם (יִרְמָם) 'become foul, full of worms,' Ex. xvi. 20).
544. רעף 'drip' (رعف *ra'ifa* 'flow').
545. רעץ 'be broken, powerless,' Is. xlii. 4) 'break.'
546. שגב 'be high, raised up.'
547. שכל 'act wisely, have success' (T. נסכל 'recognize, know').
548. שער 'know,' Deut. xxxii. 18 (سعر *sa'ara*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZDMG. 40, 729.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 87, n.

549. שָׁפֵק 'be sufficient' (נִסְפֵּק נִסְפֵּק, J. L. T. סָפִיק).
550. שָׁרַד 'escape.'
551. שָׁרַר 'rule.'
552. שָׁאָה *impf.* 'pant for, thirst for' (cf. سَغِب sagiba 'be hungry').
553. שָׁרַד 'be violent to, oppress, lay waste.'
554. שָׁטַף 'stream forth plentifully, overflow.'
555. שָׁקַט 'rest' (cf. שָׁתַק below).
556. שָׁקַע *impf.* 'become low, sink down.'
557. שָׁקַר 'deceive.'
558. שָׁתַק 'subside, be still' (שָׁתַק מִדָּבַר).
559. תָּמָה *impf.* 'be astonished, terrified.'
560. תָּקַן *inf.* 'be straight' (תָּקַן 'be firm').

The original intransitive form of the following of these verbs is indicated by the cognate languages, viz.: Nos. 437, 449, 453, 455, 459, 461, 463, 465, 466, 468, 469, 472, 475, 478, 479, 480, 483, 487, 488, 490, 495, 500, 503, 508, 509, 511, 516, 517, 519, 521, 522, 523, 527, 528, 530, 533, 535, 539, 540, 541, 542, 544, 547, 549, 558, 560, and perhaps Nos. 512, 525, 552.

In the following no decisive transitive verbal form occurs other than participle or infinitive, which are often made from intransitive verbs (cf. p. 203), so that they may have been originally intransitive, viz.: Nos. 435, 442, 447, 450, 492 (*inf.*), 493, 496, 498 (*pt.*), 499, 501, 504 (*pt.*, *inf.*), 510, 532 (*pt.*) 534 (*pt.*), 537 (*pt.*), 546, 550.

The following are best regarded as having been originally active in meaning, viz.: Nos. 436, 438, 443, 444, 448, 457, 458, 467, 489, 494, 505, 553; Nos. 456, 482, which bear a relation to the intransitive forms in the cognate languages similar to that of קָצַר 'cut off,' to קָצַר 'be cut off'; and (439) בָּרַד 'hail,' (440) בָּרַק 'lighten,' since such verbs are usually regarded in Semitic as actions of the sky, cf. Ar. بَرَقَتِ السَّمَاءُ *baraqat-i 'ssamā'u* 'the sky lightened,' etc.; No. 440, however, may have had intransitive form, cf. Aramaic: also

454. זָכַר 'remember,' perhaps originally 'to penetrate,' cf. זָכָר 'male,' ذَكَر *dhakar* 'membrum virile.' On the intransitive Ethiopic subjunctive cf. p. 180, ft. nt. 1.

473. יָשַׁב 'sit,' originally no doubt 'take a seat,' referring to the action; the Syriac verb has transitive form in the imperfect, and the intransitive perfect can hardly be regarded as decisive, since practically all verbs primæ yod in Syriac have the intransitive form.<sup>1</sup>

477. כָּשַׁל 'stumble,' originally 'strike against.'

481. לָקַק 'lick, lap;' the action of lapping was probably more prominent than in other verbs of licking and sucking.

497. נָפַל 'fall,' probably regarded simply as an action; وَقَعَ *yaqa'a* 'fall,' has also the transitive form.

515. עָמַד 'stand,' originally denoted action, 'take one's stand.'

A few denominative verbs follow the transitive as being the prevailing verbal type, viz.: Nos. 462, 464, 484, 536, 551.

The verbal forms of (460) חָלַל 'be pierced' are doubtful, the perfect חָלַל Ps. cix. 22, is perhaps to be read as the adjective חָלָל 'pierced,' or to be considered like the denominatives above. The only form of (545) רָצִין which has stative meaning is made on the analogy of verbs עָוָה which have practically all assumed the transitive form with regard to meaning.

The remaining verbs may have had intransitive form originally, their transitive form being due to the general tendency of the intransitive verbs to pass over to the active type (cf. p. 196), though in some cases it is also possible that the original meaning was active, viz.: Nos. 434, 441, 445, 446, 451, 452, 470, 471, 474, 476, 485, 486, 491, 502, 506, 507, 513, 514, 518, 520, 524, 526, 529, 531, 538, 543, 548, 554, 555, 556, 557, 559.

These exceptions to the rule that the verbs of transitive form denote action are therefore only apparent; a large number are shown by the cognate languages to have had originally the intransitive form, while a number are to be regarded as originally denoting action; those verbs about which no conclusive statement can be made are few in number, and are to be explained in one or the other of the above ways.

The fundamental difference, therefore, between the so-called transitive and intransitive verbs, to judge simply from the meaning of the verbs themselves, may very well have been a differ-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 115.



ence between action and state, but it is also theoretically possible to explain the difference, in a large number of instances, as one between volition and non-volition.

Generally speaking, active verbs may be regarded as voluntary, and stative verbs as involuntary, inasmuch as actions are usually the result of an exercise of volition, while states and changes of state are usually independent of the will; verbs of becoming, like גבר 'increase, become great,' and verbs which indicate a change of state, e. g. אבד 'become lost, perish,' are very near to the involuntary idea; emotions (e. g. אהב 'love') and perceptions (e. g. שמע 'hear') are independent of the will; cries and modes of utterance (e. g. זעק 'cry out') are often involuntary; there is an involuntary element in swallowing (בלע), since food which passes a certain point in the throat must go down; sucking (ניק) may be regarded as the half conscious involuntary act of an infant; kissing (נשק) is difficult for the lover to resist, hence involuntary; verbs denoting an action accompanied by exertion (e. g. חצב 'hew,' טחן 'grind') may be looked upon as analogous to involuntary verbs, since people are usually unwilling to perform hard work; learning (למד) is hard work, hence to be regarded as the above; bearing children (ילד) is involuntary; taking vengeance (נקם) was incumbent upon every primitive Semite, hence independent of his will; riding (רכב) might have been looked upon as involuntary 'to be carried' as in Latin *vehor*; and similar explanations may be offered for many other verbs.

It is questionable, however, whether the idea of volition would naturally enter at all into verbs which indicate simply states and conditions, such as, e. g. יטב 'be good,' עצם 'be strong, mighty,' etc. There is, moreover, no intransitive verb, the meaning of which requires necessarily to be explained on an involuntary basis; and it is strange, if the original meaning of the intransitive verbs was involuntary, that such verbs as מצא 'find,' נפל 'fall,' 'present no trace of intransitive form.

It is, of course, possible that a primitive people should distinguish in form between verbs implying volition and those implying non-volition, but it seems much more likely that they should have been impressed by the more commonplace and more apparent distinction between state and action. Besides, if voli-

tion had been the principle of division between the two verbal types, we should expect to find a distinction between voluntary and involuntary actions, and perhaps between voluntary and involuntary states, in the same verbal stem; such as, for example, 'to kill voluntarily' and 'to kill involuntarily, by accident;' 'to strike voluntarily' and 'to strike involuntarily, butt into,' 'to be good voluntarily' and 'to be good perforce,' etc.; but no instances of this kind occur. On the contrary, in those stems where both verbal types are made, the distinction is regularly that of action and state, e. g.:

יָדַךְ 'crush'	נָכַךְ 'be crushed, fine,'
יָחַלַשׁ 'weaken'	יָחַלַשׁ 'be weak,'
חָרַב <i>impr.</i> 'devastate'	יָחַרַב 'be desolate,'
יָצַק 'pour out'	וַיִּצֶק 'be poured out, flow,'
מָלֵא 'fill'	מָלֵא 'be full,'
פָּטַר 'free'	וַיִּפְטַר 'get away, escape,'
צָרַר 'bind'	צָר 'be pressed together, narrow,'
קָצַר 'cut off'	קָצַר 'be cut off, short.'

That the fundamental idea of these so-called intransitive verbal forms was that of state or condition seems also to be shown by the fact that in all probability the intransitive perfects have their origin in verbalized adjectives of the forms *qatil* and *qatul*, such as, e. g. כָּבֵד 'heavy' and קָטַן 'small,' which regularly denote conditions and qualities.<sup>1</sup>

Granted, then, that the original meaning of these verbs was stative, the fact that a number of them have more or less involuntary meaning admits of a ready explanation. From the idea of becoming, in which originally there was in all probability no idea of volition, the idea of becoming, happening independently of the will, might very readily be developed, and this may

<sup>1</sup> A similar relation exists in Tagalog, the most important language of the Philippine Islands, between the special intransitive verbal forms and the adjectives, both being made by prefixing the particle *ma* to the root, e. g., *ma-ñunong* 'know' and 'learned.' Cf. my paper on *Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog*, JHU. Circ. No. 163, p. 66.

have taken place in the case of verbs with more or less involuntary meaning. After this involuntary type was once established, it is of course possible that it should have become independently productive, and that verbs expressing an involuntary action not derived from more original stative verbs should take the intransitive form. Such a process, however, does not seem to have taken place in Hebrew.<sup>1</sup>

The so-called intransitive verbs, therefore, to judge from the material in Hebrew, seem originally to have denoted states or conditions or a change of state, while the transitive verbs denoted actions.<sup>2</sup> The terms most suitable for expressing this distinction are those proposed by Böttcher (cf. p. 150, ft. nt. 1), viz.: *stative* and *active*.

### 3. THE INTRANSITIVE FORMS.

The so-called intransitive verb in Semitic is of two types, one with *u* perfect, the other with *i* perfect. In Hebrew the latter is the more usual type, the *u* perfect being comparatively rare, occurring only in Nos. 7, 30, 82, 88, 132(?), 139, 145, 161, 324, 342, 363, 410. Both types have *a* imperfect, unlike Arabic, where the *u* perfect has an *u* imperfect, e. g. כָּבֵד, כָּבֵד 'be heavy,' קָטַן, קָטַן 'be small.'

In verbs mediæ geminatae no *i* perfect occurs except the triconsonantal forms Nos. 284, 417, and the *u* perfect is very rare, occurring only in the 3. *m. pl.* in Nos. 88, 342, 363, e. g. רָמוּ 'be high,' *rōmmā* < *rummā* < *rumā*; the intransitive perfect has usually the form קָטַ. This is not to be regarded as a contraction of *qatit* but as a biconsonantal *a* perfect *qat* < *qatta* < *qata* (cf. p. 146, ft. nt. 1). The reason for its use as a special

---

<sup>1</sup> In Tagalog, on the contrary, the adjectival particle *ma* has acquired a distinct involuntary force. Cf. *ma-patihūlog* 'fall involuntarily,' *ma-patiḍapá* 'prostrate oneself involuntarily' with *mag-patihūlog* 'throw oneself,' *mag-patiḍapá* 'prostrate oneself,' made with active verbal particle *mag*.

<sup>2</sup> This is borne out by the evidence of the cognate languages Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, where the majority of the intransitive verbs have a stative meaning, and those which are not plainly stative may be more or less readily explained on a stative basis; cf. p. 145, ft. nt. 1.

intransitive form in Hebrew is not clear.<sup>1</sup> Verbs of this class have usually imperfects like יָחַם 'be hot,' *iēham* < *iīhammu* < *iīhamu*, or like יָדַל 'be weak,' made after the analogy of verbs פָּ. Imperfects of the first kind occur in Nos. 106, 204, 319, 325, 362, 369, 417, 431; of the second kind in Nos. 57 (cf. p. 180), 66, 106, 198, 312, 431. Nos. 110, 214 make triconsonantal imperfects; (188) לָעַע makes יָלַע (?). The imperative of the form קָט does not occur; on גָּלל cf. p. 180. Biconsonantal imperfects of the type יָחַם from verbs פָּ are Nos. 141, 142, 146, 156, 158, 160, 164; biconsonantal imperatives of the type קָט from verbs פָּ, Nos. 153, 166; from verbs פָּ, Nos. 212, 238.

Verbs mediæ infirmæ have almost all conformed to the transitive type. *I* perfects are Nos. 193, 290 (?), e. g. מָת 'die,' *mēt* < *mīt*; *u* perfects are Nos. 7, 30, 82, 132 (?), e. g. בָּשׁ 'be ashamed,' *bōš* < *buš*; imperfects in *ō* < *ā* < *a* are made from Nos. 7, 29, 30, 62, 95, 323 (?), e. g. יָבוֹשׁ; imperfects in *a*, excluding transitive verbs (cf. p. 179 ff.), from Nos. 184, 221, 222, 262 (?), e. g. יָלַן 'spend night.' In verbs of this class there seem to have been two kinds of lengthening; a common Semitic lengthening, represented by the imperfects in *ō*, due to the desire to conform the biconsonantal form to the triconsonantal type, and a secondary Hebrew lengthening, represented by the perfects in *ē* and *ō*, due to the accent.<sup>2</sup> The so-called shortened imperfects in *a* probably represent the original biconsonantal stage with short vowel like Arabic jussive يَف يَاف *iāhaf*.

<sup>1</sup> In Ethiopic, also, intransitive verbs mediæ geminatae have short perfects like ሐመ ḥamma 'be sick.' Here, however, their use as special intransitive forms admits of an explanation. These forms, which are no doubt derived from biconsonantal forms like \*hama, were regarded as contracted from \*hamēma, etc., just as ለሰሰ labša 'put on,' from labēsa.

<sup>2</sup> The transitive perfect forms like קָם 'rise' also represent this kind of lengthening, e. g. *qām* < *qam*, while Syriac ܩܡ *qām*, Arabic قام *qāma* represent the first kind of lengthening. Hebrew קָם bears the same relation to Syriac ܩܡ, Arabic قام, as Hebrew מָת bears to Syriac ܡܝܬ *mīt*.

In some cases verbs of both transitive and intransitive types are made from the same stem, viz.: in Nos. 71, 103, 119, 153, 196, 292, 319, 331, and perhaps in 238, where נָשַׁל means both 'take off' and 'fall out,' יָשַׁל 'to fall off,' and שָׁל 'take off,' the forms and meaning being more or less mixed. (Cf. p. 193.)

A complete series of intransitive forms have been preserved in comparatively few verbs. There is a strong tendency for verbs of the intransitive type to pass over to the more usual transitive type, the tendency manifesting itself especially in the perfect, and particularly in the perfect with characteristic *i* vowel.

To this tendency is due the fact that almost all intransitive verbs have transitive form in the first and second persons, e. g. כָּבַדְתִּי, כָּבַדְתָּ 'be heavy,' מָתָה, מָתִי 'die.' In the few *u* perfects which occur in Hebrew, the characteristic intransitive vowel is regularly preserved in the first and second persons when these forms occur, viz.: in Nos. 30, 139, 145, 161, 324, 410, e. g. יָגַדְתִּי, יָגַדְתָּ 'fear,' בָּשַׁתְּ, בָּשַׁתִּי 'be ashamed,' accented *u* being lengthened to *ō* even in a closed syllable. Short *o* is preserved in an unaccented syllable in יָכַלְתִּי Ps. xiii. 5, and יָכַלְתָּ Ex. xviii. 23. Only in שָׁכַלְתִּי 'be childless' Gen. xliij. 14, *i. p.* does the transitive form occur, perhaps an intentional differentiation from שָׁכַלְתָּ which directly precedes. In the case of *i* perfects, disregarding verbs ל'ה, intransitive forms have been preserved only in verbs ל'א, Nos. 134, 162 (also מָלֵאתִי, מָלֵאתָ Josh. iv. 24), 196, 313, 386, e. g. מָלֵאתִי, מָלֵאתָ 'be full,' and in certain forms of the verbs (146) יָלַד 'bear,' (166) יָרַשׁ 'inherit,' (393) שָׁאַל 'ask,' and (290) פָּוַשׁ 'spring, skip;'" e. g. יָלַדְתָּם, יָרַשְׁתָּם, שָׁאַלְתִּי, פָּוַשְׁתָּם, in which last the characteristic vowel occurs in an unaccented closed syllable, and is preserved in its original short form *i*. In the case of verbs

<sup>1</sup> This is also the case in Ethiopic where all transitive verbs except verbs mediæ gutturalis have transitive forms in these persons, e. g. ለለሐ: *labaska*, ለለሐ: *labaskā* 'put on'; but አከሐ: *kēhēdka*, አከሐ: *kēhēdkā* 'deny.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 44, d.

ל'י, which were more originally ל'י, representing both ל'י and ל'י, however, the tendency to pass from intransitive to transitive type has not been operative in the first and second persons. Here, on the other hand, the intransitive has prevailed completely over the transitive type, all verbs having intransitive forms without regard to their meaning,<sup>1</sup> e. g.

גָּלִיתָ < *galiṭta* 'reveal,'

אָבִיתָ < '*abiṭta* 'be willing.'

The extension of the *i* vowel in verbs of this class was perhaps due to the influence of the third stem consonant yod. The intransitive is also the only type in the imperfect, all verbs having forms like יִגְלֶה < *iḡlai*. Stems of this class which are included in the above list are Nos. 2, 8, 24, 33, 45, 61, 78, 83, 93, 99, 150, 172, 175, 179, 181, 194, 220, 230, 236, 249, 263, 269, 276, 289, 294, 297, 299, 300, 322, 334, 339, 340, 343, 351, 354, 367, 372, 373, 379, 392, 395, 401, 413, 428. With the exception of (413) שָׁלָה, which is treated like a strong verb, these stems are not included in the following lists of verbal forms.

Intransitive forms are preserved in both perfect and imperfect in comparatively few cases, viz.: verbs with *u* perfect, Nos. 7, 30, 145, 324, 410; verbs with *i* perfect, Nos. 6, 23, 47, 48, 60, 87, 108, 111, 113, 115, 116, 131, 134, 137, 146, 149, 162, 166, 171, 180, 182, 196, 232, 311, 313, 321, 331, 333, 365, 378, 385, 386, 393, 408, 416, 417, 419, 423; verbs mediæ geminæ with short perfects, Nos. 66, 106, 188(?), 204, 319, 325, 362, 369, 431. The corresponding verbal adjectives which are identical in form with the 3. s. m. perfect, are found in the following of these verbs: *u* perfects, Nos. 7, 30, 324; *i* perfects, Nos. 23, 48, 60, 87, 108, 111, 113, 115, 134, 137, 149, 162, 171, 196, 313, 321, 331, 333, 365, 378, 385, 408, 416, 417; short perfects mediæ geminæ, Nos. 66, 106, 204, 319, 325, 362, 369, 431. In a number of

<sup>1</sup> The intransitive type has also apparently prevailed over the transitive in the first and second persons perfect of verbs mediæ infirmæ in Arabic, all verbs having characteristic *i* or *u* in these forms without regard to meaning, e. g. قُلْتُ *qulta*, *qultu* 'say,' سَرتَ *sirta*, *sirtu* 'journey'; cf. Philippi in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 20, 1890, p. 355.

these verbs transitive by-forms<sup>1</sup> of the third person perfect also occur, viz.: verbs with *i* perfect, e. g. דָּבַק and דָּבַק 'stick to,' Nos. 6, 23, 47, 48, 60, 146, 166, 171, 182, 321, 333, 378, 385, 393, 408, 419; verbs mediæ geminatæ<sup>2</sup> (66) דָּלַל and דָּלַל 'be weak.' Only in Nos. 115, 146, 166 (*impr.*), 331, 333 (*impr.*); 106, 369 (*impr.*), 417, however, are transitive by-forms of the imperfect found, the imperfect in general resisting the tendency towards the transitive type better than the perfect.

In a few instances intransitive verbal forms are preserved only in the perfect, viz.: *u* perfects, Nos. 82, 88, 132(?), 139, 161; 342, 363; *i* perfects, Nos. 21, 38, 72, 118, 193, 209, 272, 284, 290(?), 326, 411; short perfects mediæ geminatæ, Nos. 65, 68, 71, 84, 92, 100, 125, 128, 140 (cf. p. 181), 189, 295, 307, 341, 403, 429. The corresponding verbal adjectives are made in Nos. 132(?), 139, 161; 38, 72, 193, 411; 71, 84, 92, 100, 128, 307, 341, 403; in the mediæ geminatæ stem 125, an adjective of the form קָטַל is made. Transitive by-forms of the perfect occur in Nos. 82; 272, 290, 326, 411; 403. Nos. 118, 193, 209, 290, 411; 68, 403, have transitive imperfects in *u*, No. 128, a transitive imperative; in the other verbs the imperfect does not occur or is indecisive.

The moribund condition of the intransitive perfect is made still further evident by the fact that a large number of the forms of the *i* perfect occur in pause, a position in which archaic forms that have been lost elsewhere are often preserved. The following occur only in pause, viz.: Nos. 23, 38, 47, 60, 72, 108, 111, 116, 146, 149, 171, 232, 272, 284, 311, 313, 321, 326, 333, 365, 378, 385, 411, 417, 419.

In a large number of verbs, the intransitive perfect is not preserved, intransitive verbal forms occurring only in the imperfect or imperative. Verbs of this kind, excluding those which have been shown to be of the transitive type, cf. p. 179, are the following, viz.: Nos. 1, 3, 12, 14, 17, 22, 25, 26, 29, 32, 34,

<sup>1</sup> By transitive by-forms are meant those transitive forms which have the same meaning as the intransitive; they are to be distinguished from those transitive forms which have meanings opposite to those of the intransitive; cf. p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> שָׁמַח (417) can not be considered a transitive form, since all the perfect forms follow the analogy of the triconsonantal verb.

35, 36, 40, 41, 46, 49, 56, 58, 62, 67, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 85, 86, 90, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 103, 110, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 126, 127, 130, 133, 135, 136, 138, 141, 142, 144, 148, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 164, 167, 168, 170, 176, 177, 184, 186, 187, 198, 200, 206, 207, 208, 211, 212, 214, 217, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227, 237, 238, 240, 241, 243, 245, 246, 252, 262(?), 275, 281, 283, 286, 288, 291, 292, 296, 298, 301, 303, 309, 312, 315, 316, 317, 318, 323(?), 328, 332, 336(?), 338, 345, 346, 350 (*impr.*), 352, 356, 358, 359, 361, 366, 368, 370, 371, 374, 377, 382, 390, 391, 396, 398, 407, 412, 413, 414, 418.

In those Nos. given in italics the perfect does not occur, or is indecisive; in the remainder the perfect has the transitive form. The imperfect has a transitive by-form in the following, viz.: *i* imperfect, Nos. 1, 75, 164, 184, 312; *u* imperfect, Nos. 26, 75, 90, 95, 136, 212 (*impr.*), 214, 221, 222, 237, 240, 288, 298, 328, 396; the transitive imperfect is in most cases the regular form. The former existence of intransitive perfects is indicated by the verbal adjectives in the following: *u* perfects in Nos. 14(?), 22, 26(?), 46, 127, 200, 206, 211, 318(?), 358, 359; *i* perfects in Nos. 3, 22, 85, 94, 97, 119, 120, 138, 167, 187, 227(?), 262, 275, 281, 286, 358, 413, 418, *mediæ infirmæ* 184.

Intransitive imperatives occur from the following verbs, viz.: Nos. 6, 14, 32, 40, 56, 86, 94, 97, 101, 119, 131, 153, 162, 166, 182, 212, 238, 311, 317, 333, 346, 350, 361, 378, 385, 393, 407, 416, 419, *mediæ infirmæ* 7, 29, 30. The imperatives (153) **צַק** and (238) **שׁל** are intransitive forms used with the meaning of the transitive verbs **צַק** 'pour out,' **נָשַׁל** 'take off.'

When no decisive intransitive verbal form is preserved, the intransitive derivatives often give evidence of the original intransitive form of a verb, as e. g. in Nos. 44, 104, 107, 114, 185, 192, 207, 339, 409, etc. When no form of *Qal* is made in a certain stem, intransitive derivatives often indicate the possibility of the former existence of the corresponding intransitive verb, as e. g. in Nos. 10, 20, 37, 59, 64, 117, 173, 194, 308, 424, etc. In some instances intransitive derivatives occurring with transitive active verbs indicate the former existence of intransitive verbs of the same stem, cf. p. 179. Sometimes the apparently intransitive derivatives really belong to transitive active verbs, as in Nos. 205, 260, 357, etc. For the sake of convenience complete lists of the various intransitive derivatives



are here given. A number of nouns which were in all probability originally adjectives, and concrete nouns which seem to be derived from more original abstracts, are included.

Adjectives of the form קטל are made from the following, viz.: Nos. 3, 4(?), 13, 20, 22, 23, 38, 44, 48, 51, 60, 72, 85, 87, 89, 94, 97, 108, 111, 113, 115, 119, 120, 125, 134, 137, 138, 143, 149, 151, 162, 163(?), 167, 169, 171, 187, 190, 196, 227(?), 229, 262, 264, 266, 267, 270, 271, 275, 277, 281, 286, 293, 313, 321, 331, 333, 347, 358, 365, 378, 385, 408, 411, 413, 416, 417, 418, 426, 432. The construct state of the majority of these adjectives has the form קטל, probably due to metaplasm with adjectives of the form קטל c. קטל like שפל 'low,' viz.: Nos. 87, 94, 113, 171, 277, 331, 378, 411. No. 3 and the adjectives ל'א, Nos. 134, 162, 196, however, make their construct regularly, e. g. אהל- 'mourning,' מלא 'full;' Nos. 22, 171, 277, make constructs from the form qatl, syncopated from qatil, e. g. ערל 'uncircumcised.'

Adjectives of the form קטל are made from the following; with feminine קטלה or plural קטלים probably representing original \*qatul in every case,<sup>2</sup> Nos. 5, 10, 14(?), 22, 39, 127, 171, 200, 234, 251, 253, 267, 268, 273, 274, 278, 389; with the feminine קטלה or plural קטלים, Nos. 26(?), 46, 48, 91, 131, 204, 211, 231, 310, 321, 333, 358, 387, 405; feminine or plural does not occur, or is made from the form קטול. Nos. 31, 109, 112, 139, 161, 165, 202, 206, 282, 285, 302, 318(?), 324, 355, 359. In the last two lists, the italicized forms seem to represent the form qatul, as is indicated by the *u* perfects in Hebrew and Arabic; יקש 'bird-catcher' (161) may represent the form qatdl, since the perfect in this case is based on the nominal form. The remainder may represent either qatul or qatdl; בחון 'spy' (31)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the construct state גרר, ירך, ברתך, of the nouns גרר 'wall,' ירך 'thigh,' ברתך 'shoulder.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* 2, 1, 84; Stade, *Lehrb.* §§ 204, b; 71, 3; Olshausen, *Lehrb.* § 168, b.

is most probably of the latter form. The construct state of the adjectives in the last two lists has the form קטל, e. g.

גדל 'great,' קטן 'small;' in גבה from גבה 'high' (46), the *a* is due to the guttural. No construct state of the adjectives in the first list occurs.

In a number of stems verbal adjectives of both forms קטל and קטל, or an *i* perfect and an adjective of the form קטל are made, viz.: Nos. 22, 48, 131, 171, 267, 321, 333, 358; in Nos. 127, 204 an adjective קטל and verbal noun קטלה are made. This seems to indicate that originally in Hebrew *i* and *u* perfects were made from the same stem, as quite frequently in Arabic, e. g.

بهيح *bahija* 'be joyful,' *bahuja* 'be beautiful;'

خزن *bazina, hazuna* 'be altered for the worse in odor;' etc.

Adjectives of the forms קט and קט from stems mediæ infirmæ are made from the following, viz.: קט, Nos. 50, 79, 173, 184, 185, 193, 195(?), 219(?), 223, 255, 258, 360; קט, Nos. 7, 30, 132(?); adjectives of the form קט, from stems mediæ geminatae from the following, viz.: Nos. 43, 64, 66, 71, 84, 92, 100, 106, 114, 128, 199(?), 201, 204, 247, 259, 307, 319, 325, 337, 341, 362, 369, 376, 403, 431; adjectives like בלה from stems ה'ל, from the following, viz.: Nos. 33, 61, 78, 99(?), 150, 175, 194, 220(?), 230, 263, 276, 300, 334, 339, 340, 351, 354, 372, 401. The construct states of the last class have forms like קשה 'hard.' These adjectives are usually regarded as contracted from the form *qatal*, e. g. *qašē* < *qašai*, and as the regular contraction of the diphthong *ai* is ַי, ַי which represents the same sound is perhaps more original than ַי, the more original form being preserved in the construct connection, while the ending of the absolute state has been modified; cf. feminine nouns like סוּסָה constr. סוּסָה 'mare.'

Infinitives of the form קטל are very rare, occurring from stative verbs only in Nos. 106(?), 110, 407, 423; in active verbs like שלח 'send,' the *a* of the infinitive is due to the guttural. Infinitives of the form קט from stative verbs mediæ geminatae are made in the following, viz.: Nos. 204, 319, 362, 369, 409; all except the last may be simply the verbal adjectives of the same form used as a noun; in 369 the infinitive form may be perfect.<sup>1</sup> In Nos. 43 and 349, the *a* of the infinitive is probably due to the guttural ר. Infinitives of the form קוט from verbs mediæ infirmæ are made from the following, viz.: Nos. 29, 30, 192, 221, 222, 256, 353; in 400 the form is probably corrupt. Infinitives of the form קטלה are made from Nos. 6, 23, 340, 433; of the form קטלה from Nos. 87, 97, 105, 162, 332, 344, 386; of the form קטלה "ק, from Nos. 46, 60, 97, 105, 108, 134, 203, 205, 333, 357, 358, 412, 419. In 203, 205, 357 the form קטלה is used as the infinitive of active verbs. These last three classes are verbal nouns used as infinitives.

As simple verbal nouns, קטלה occurs in Nos. 6, 8, 14, 23, 45, 80, 183, 225, 226(?), 257, 271, 291, 308, 320, 392(?), 402, 404, 413, 430; קטלה in Nos. 32, 69, 87, 89, 93, 97, 102, 104, 105, 122, 129, 152, 162, 168(?), 176, 205, 250, 254, 260, 276, 313, 320, 327, 348, 361, 375, 377, 378, 383, 385, 386, 395, 420, 423, 424, 425, 432; קטלה "ק in Nos. 13, 97, 101, 105, 117, 119, 131, 134, 272, 273, 280, 282, 335, 346, 378, 421. In Nos. 129, 205, 260, 395, 404, 421, they are nouns of action from active verbs.

Verbal nouns of the form קטל are made from the following, viz.: Nos. 23, 27, 74, 107, 138, 165, 174, 178, 228, 235, 266, 281, 286, 313, 365, 374, 378, 384, 415, 418(?); verbal nouns of the form קטלה, which is a specially frequent derivative from verbs of utterance like זעק 'cry out,' from the following, viz.: Nos. 13, 16, 18, 37, 42, 56, 58, 68, 74, 80, 86, 98, 120, 147, 157, 168(?), 207, 208, 210, 213, 216, 218, 226(?), 235, 252, 265, 269, 301, 303, 315, 317, 329, 330, 333(?) 341, 351, 352, 364, 366, 391, 393, 397, 407, 417, 422, 433; נשמה 'breath' (239) is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* I, 339; Stade, *Lehrb.* § 619, b; Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 531.

to be regarded as concrete, קָלָלָה 'cursing' (325) is made from the *Piel* קָלַל 'curse' on the analogy of בָּרַכָה 'blessing'; verbal nouns of the form קָטְלָה are made from the following, viz.: Nos. 1, 19, 20, 28, 36, 42, 51, 52, 55, 59, 76, 77, 127, 136, 166, 191, 196, 197, 204, 209, 233, 279, 293, 314, 388, 393, 399, 423, 427. The verbal nouns in Nos. 248 and 394 are also to be regarded as intransitive.

The same tendency to pass over to the transitive type which was observed in connection with the verbal forms is found also to a certain extent in the nominal derivatives. A number of stative verbs, especially such as are more or less active in meaning, make participles and infinitives of the transitive form.

Verbs with intransitive form in perfect or imperfect, excluding those which belong to the transitive type (cf. p. 179), which make such derivatives are the following, viz.:

1) Participles of the form קָטַל, Nos. 1, 6, 26, 32, 35, 36, 40, 56, 58, 67, 75, 85, 90, 98, 110, 118, 122, 133, 136, 146, 148, 156, 161, 164, 166, 170, 182, 187, 209, 214, 224, 237, 246, 252, 298, 317, 318, 328, 332, 345, 361, 370, 386, 390, 391, 393, 407, 408, 411, 416, 417, 419.

2) Infinitives of the form קָטַל, s. קָטְלִי (suffixal forms like יִצְעֲדָךְ, בִּלְעִי are indecisive, as they may represent either קָטַל or קָטַל; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 61, b) Nos. 1, 6, 26, 32, 34, 40, 46, 56, 67, 75, 86, 90, 94, 97(s.), 98, 118, 122(?), 136, 137, 162, 167, 177, 182, 186(s.), 200, 209, 214, 225, 240, 272(s.), 288, 317, 328, 333, 358, 361, 378, 382, 385, 386, 390, 393, 403, 407(s.), 411, 414, 419; מֵלֵא (196) makes the infinitive מֵלֵא after the analogy of verbs לֵה',<sup>1</sup> and similar forms are made also in Nos. 98 and 386; the infinitive of יָכַל (145) is the feminine form יָכַלְתְּ, a form which is also made from No. 137.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 74, h; also König, *Lehrgeb.*, I, 611; Stade, *Lehrb.*, § 201, b.

<sup>2</sup> These infinitives may represent the feminine of a form *qatāl*, as in שְׁלִישֶׁת 'three'; cf. Stade, *op. cit.* § 208, c; Olshausen, *Lehrb.*, p. 333, top.

3) Passive participles of the form קָטוּל, Nos. 6, 32, 35, 74, 90, 118, 146, 182, 186, 237, 246, 272, 386, 393, 410, 411, 412, 416(?), 419; these are in some cases simply verbal adjectives, as e. g. in Nos. 32, 410, etc.

Verbs ל'ה which make participles like נִלְה as well as verbal adjectives like בִּלָּה are Nos. 78, 263, 334, 340, 401; in all except Nos. 78, 340, the verbal adjectives are used only as nouns.

Verbs mediæ infirmæ have for the most part completely passed over to the transitive type: participles of the form קָט are therefore to be expected from any verb of this class, whatever the meaning; such participles from verbs which have preserved intransitive form either in verbal forms or derivatives are made in Nos. 29, 50, 80, 82, 192, 219, 222, 353.